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HISTORICAL ADDRESSES

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER

1831-1921

1. The first condition

is that the system must be in a state of equilibrium

at the initial time $t=0$.

2. The second condition

is

JUL 22 1928

COMPLIMENTS OF
 PERCIVAL P. BAXTER

Baxter
~~WES~~

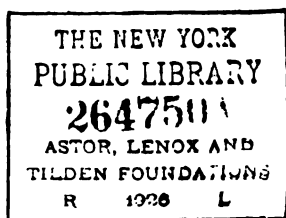
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21

HISTORICAL ADDRESSES ✓

JAMES PHINNEY ^{S. C.} BAXTER
1831-1921

Portland, Maine

1922
100



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Note: The above is a partial list of the historical addresses of James Phinney Baxter.

* not in this volume.

HISTORY

OF A

RING.

BY ONE OF THE GOVERNOR'S WARDS



1877.

HISTORY

OF A

RING.

BY ONE OF THE GOVERNOR'S WARDS.



1877.

P R E F A C E .

*"What is everybody's business is nobody's business," has been well said. Matters of vital interest to the public get sadly neglected, or, what is worse, mismanaged, and people look on with a strange apathy, until some individual of especially nervous temperament, horrified at the consequences of the neglect or the enormity of the mismanagement, cries out and awakens the public from its comfortable repose, often getting no more than a discouraging growl for his pains. The history of Tweed, the Credit Mobilier, and various other *mobiliers*, are fresh in mind, and would to-day have been in full flower had not some nuisance of a nervous man cried out and aroused the somnolent public. Why these dangerous combinations against the welfare of the community are not sooner exposed, is, doubtless, because men outside of the combinations have enough to do to get their bread and butter by more honest means, and lack time to inform themselves in all public matters; or, they dread to draw upon themselves the enmity of those forming such combinations, some of whom are too often, unfortunately, among the wealthier and more powerful of the political and business community; or, they feel that many others are more interested than themselves, and if they do not complain, they are not especially called upon to do so. Hence wrongs to the public often go for a long time unnoticed, or, if noticed, are quietly talked over by the fireside or in the office, and no*

one feeling called upon to sacrifice himself for the public weal, the spirit of martyrdom having long since cooled, are allowed to continue unrighted. It may be a surprise to a few of the unthinking people of this city to hear the statement made that we in this godly Forest City have for years had a Ring which has sapped its vitality *to a greater extent in proportion to its wealth* than any Ring ever did in that Empire City which we are especially apt to regard as *ungodly*. Such, however, is a fact, if any reliance can be placed upon the following history of *one* of these Rings, for such it purports to be, which was picked up on the street the other day blowing about loosely.

THE TRUE HISTORY OF A RING.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

TOM, The Portland & Coal-kiln Corner R. R. Corp.
DIRECTORS AND MEMBERS CREDIT MOBILIER.—[*See Archives.*]

GOVERNOR—*Uncle to Tom,* Civitatiss Portlandiæ.

GOVERNOR'S WARDS, Citizens of Portland.

THE PROBATE COURT, Legislature of Maine.

TOM'S BROTHER, The Portland & Lunar R. R.

JOHN CANUCK, *Tom's Canadian Cousin,* G. T. R. R.

Once upon a time, there lived in the city called *the Forest*, a young man familiarly called Tom, who like almost every body else wanted money, and cast about how to raise it. He wanted this money to build a railroad to "Somebody's Land," as he had heard that railroads paid. So considering it a laudable enterprise, he concluded to call upon his uncle whom he familiarly called "Governor," for a loan of, as he expressed it, "the insignificant sum" of seven hundred thousand dollars (\$700,000), which amount would enable him to build an iron highway through Sleepy Hollow, Post's Delight and other equally, or almost equally important places, to *SOMEBODY'S LAND*.

To fix the old gentleman all right, Tom promised him a power of sale mortgage on his road, which he considered

ample security. But the old gentleman himself had no money in his own right, the property he controlled belonging to his wards, and he could not bind them in a transaction of this sort without first getting the consent of the Probate Court, and then the assent of his wards thereto. So the Governor says: "Tom, if I can get the consent of the court, and my wards are willing, you shall have our notes for the amount, upon which you can readily raise the money." So a clever lawyer was obtained to put the matter in shape before the court, and its consent was readily obtained. Meantime, Tom plied the wards with romantic stories concerning the great advantage of having a highway to *SOMEBODY'S LAND*, and by the time the court's consent was obtained, some of them were ready to say yes to anything which sly Tom proposed; but a good many—a majority, were opposed to incurring a liability which they might be called upon to pay. The wards, however, had some far off connections—third and fourth cousins; many of them worthless vagabonds who had no real interest in the wards' property, and did not expect to have, but who, by a law not yet obsolete, but which perhaps over-critical people think ought to become so, were entitled to a voice in this matter as much as the wards themselves. In other words, they had the power to vote away the property of those really owning it, in a case like this, without so much as saying "by your leave." Tom understood this, and so he schemed to get enough of these worthless cousins on his side to carry his plan through. This required *money*, and Tom made a temporary raise; and with his money in his hand, secured enough votes to counterbalance the votes of those whose interests were alone at stake; and so the men who would have to pay the notes if Tom should fail to take them up at maturity, were obliged by Tom and their worthless relatives whom he controlled, to make and loan him their notes in spite of themselves and against their better judgment. So Tom got his notes, and

with grim humor, after cashing them took a part of the money to pay for obtaining the votes of the worthless relatives, and so Tom not only forced the Governor's wards to lend him their notes, *but absolutely made them pay for being forced to do so*. It would have actually saved them money if they had all yielded a ready assent to his demands at the outset.

Thus Tom got his \$700,000, and spent it, while the birds sang sweetly, and the world spun round as merrily as ever.

Sadly, one sombre, sickly day in November, when the bilious leaves were falling about the old gent's door steps, Tom called upon the Governor and said, "I have spent that money, but I know some men of means who will let me have what I want, say \$350,000, if you will let them come in under your mortgage." "Why not give them a second mortgage," says the Governor. "Oh," says Tom, "they say a second mortgage won't do, and, as the road is worth a good deal more than it will cost, be a good old Governor as you are, and humor their whim, for it is only a whim." So the old gentleman, having just eaten an aldermanic dinner, and being a little confused in his head, never thought that it was as necessary to obtain his wards' consent to a change of their security, as it was, in the first place, to make the loan; in other words, that he could not bind them in this transaction without their consent, and so he granted Tom's request, and that young man went away happy, made out his own notes for \$350,000, and got his money at seven per cent. interest of somebody. Meantime, the birds sang as sweetly and the world turned round as merrily as ever.

But the \$350,000 was at last spent, and the town of Sleepy Hollow, containing two houses and another in prospect, was reached, or, as a local paper poetically remarked, "It was aroused from its slumbers by the snort of the iron horse." Then Tom felt in his pockets, both dexter and sinister, and, to use a profane expression, found he "hadn't a

red," so he concluded to call again on the Governor, who was a little nearer dotage than when he last saw him. "Well, Tom," says the old gent, a little annoyed this time, "what do you want now? I thought you said, the last time you called, that all you wanted was \$350,000." "True," says Tom, "but money somehow or other gets spent easier than of yore, and to get along I must have a matter of \$450,000 more—a mere bagatelle when you consider the importance of the undertaking. When this road is finished, and my brother's, over the way to Nobody's Land, real estate will double in value, and your wards will roll in wealth. Now, I have one hundred thousand dollars' worth of the stock of the Nashua & Rochester R. R., guaranteed by the Norwich & Worcester R. R., which I received in a little transaction I had with them the other day, and which will sell for at least \$130,000, and if you will lend me your notes for \$450,000, I will give you a second mortgage on the road, and this stock as additional security." "All right," said the old gentleman, and bethinking himself this time, applied to the Probate Court, obtained its consent, submitted it to his wards, who had, meanwhile, been regaled as of yore by Tom's pleasant stories, and got their consent, so he made more notes to the amount of \$450,000, at six per cent. interest, handed them over to Tom, who gave him a second mortgage for the amount, and the \$100,000 of the stock of the Nashua & Rochester R. R., for security, and went his way, jolly.

The old gent put the mortgage and the 100,000 dollars' worth of stock into the safe, away from thieves and other evil disposed persons, for *this stock* had *real* value, and everything, to use an original expression, "went," for awhile, "as merrily as a marriage bell." But Tom's fingers itched to get hold of that one hundred thousand dollars' worth of the Nashua & Rochester stock, which was worth at least \$130,000, and he couldn't "sleep o' nights" for thinking of

t; so he employed a conscientious lawyer to see what he "*could do about it.*" This lawyer at once put a bold face on the matter, as is his wont, and, to use his own language, thought "the way to do it was to rush it through before it could be talked up." So he went right to the Governor and said, "You have Nashua & Rochester Railroad stock to the value of \$100,000 in your safe belonging to my client; now, your second mortgage is for the full amount of the notes you loaned, and what do you need this stock for? *Thomas* needs it, and if he don't get it and finish his road, where is the money to come from to pay your notes and interest?" The old gentleman scratched his head and looked confused. "George," said the old gentleman, appealing to his confidential clerk (afterwards *Thomas*' confidential clerk), "what do you think about it?" George, who had just been having a little side chat with the legal limb, spoke up briskly and replied, "Well, Governor, you ought to give him the stock, without doubt." "Well, if you really think so, George," said the Governor, "I suppose it's best," and so he unlocked the safe and handed over the stock belonging to his wards. The legal limb gave a suspicion of a wink at George, who smiled, and, (as he says,) "I trembled 'till I got hold of the documents, and when I got them in my hands, I didn't stop to breathe till I got them out again and into the hands of ——.*"

The old gentleman, meantime, got into a muddle over some affairs of *Tom*'s brother, who was using him quite as badly as *Tom*, indeed, rather worse it is said, and so forgot all about the matter. About this time *Tom* cast his eye eastward, and noticed that his Canadian cousin had a passenger once in a while over his road, whom he might get if he offered him extra inducements, so he concluded to call on the Governor again. It was a bright May morning as,

*NOTE.—The name is blotted so as to be illegible. The reader will have to consult the archives.—[*Editor*.]

with a bland face, Tom entered the cozy parlor of the Governor, who was reading in the "*Forest Bugle*," about the great discoveries of silver in Newburyport, or as the "*Bugle*" had it, "argentiferous deposits." The old gentleman was happy, he said, to live in such a favored region as New England, so Tom, smiling, came to the point at once. "Governor, Cousin John is bringing lots of people here who go somewhere by the Eastern Rail Road, which don't need them a bit, as they are, you well know, so flush with money that they don't know what to do with it. Now, it would be the right thing for you to build me a little road to John's door, at your own expense, so I can get these passengers. I have had it surveyed by my engineer, who is competent and honest, and the cost will not exceed \$30,000. "Oh," says the old gentleman, "that's a bagatelle. Don't spend breath on that. It shall be done at once. I'll send Pat over to do it, and you look after him and have it to suit you." So Pat went to work and the \$30,000 was spent, but no road finished.

One hot morning in July, Tom, sweating and very red in the face, entered the old gentleman's parlor and said, "Governor, my engineer, in looking over, finds he made a little mistake—a clerical one merely. He left off a figure in copying his estimate for me to show you. It doesn't reflect in the least on his integrity or knowledge of such matters. It will cost a hundred thousand dollars to complete the road. If you don't advance the necessary funds, what is spent is as good as lost, and it will hurt my prospects. Now give me the money and I'll build it myself, forty feet wide, and give you the *personal security* of my Directors. It shall be built substantially. You can rely upon them, for they are good men and true." "Well," says the old gentleman, that was a bad error leaving off a figure, but I don't see how it can be helped," and he gave Tom the money. The Directors, it was understood, were to become responsible for

the completion of the road in a good and substantial manner, forty feet wide, but never became responsible. How well the work was done, can be seen by anyone who is interested.

But while this little side issue was going on, another scheme was budding. The *Bugle* and other papers about that time were showing what a profitable scheme had just come to light in Washington, which they learnedly called a "Credit Mobilier." The word caught Tom's eye, and the scheme enlisted his sympathies at once. "By George," said one of Tom's Directors, who don't swear because he goes to an up-town church, and it is not "*en règle*" in the said church, "that's just the thing. We'll go to the court and get an act of incorporation, allowing us to build and furnish rolling stock to railroads." So Tom's Directors got incorporated, had rolling stock built, and let it under one name, to themselves under another name, at twelve per cent. interest, said rolling stock to be kept in repair and paid for by the road if injured or destroyed, taking the money which should have gone towards paying the six per cent. due on the Governor's wards' notes and putting it in their wallets; sleeping soundly, eating heartily, and growing robust all the time, while the birds sang as sweetly and the world spun round as merrily as ever.

But Tom spent his money fast and the Centennial was approaching, and he must go there, surely. So he again went to the Governor, this time with hat in hand and with a sheepish look on his open face, and said, "By the way, Governor, you know I have taken care of the interest on those notes pretty well, but the Centennial opens by and by; I must spend some money to go there, you know, and I've come to ask you to pay the interest on those notes a while. You shan't lose anything by it. *Just give your notes for the interest, and I will pay you interest on them.* The Governor scratched his head a bit and said, "Tom, you

are a sharp fellow, I do believe, and a good financier." So he made his notes for the interest, and Tom went away smiling. But, shortly after, one of his wards came in and said, "Governor, we are getting alarmed about our property. You've loaned to Tom and his brother Sam over three millions, and these notes must be met. Tom don't pay interest, and what's to be done?" "Oh, said the Governor, "he's going to pay by and by, after the Centennial, and, meantime, he's going to pay the interest for what we let him have to pay the interest with." "But," said his prying and disagreeable ward, "let's figure and see what he is to pay! We pay interest on 1,150,000 dollars; that's \$69,000, and Tom pays interest on this, which is \$4,140, and saves \$64,860, which he can use to pay the 12 per cent. to the Credit Mobilier, &c., and we are piling up a debt which will distress us to meet, and ruin our business prospects completely, for our credit impaired, as it must be, people will not do business with us." "Oh," growled the Governor, "you are fault finding." So he took a quiet nap and dreamed that a silver mine had been found in his garden while Pat was digging some potatoes for his dinner. And the birds sang as sweetly and the world spun round as merrily as ever.

But, one windy day in October, Tom, with his elbows out, and a suspicion of a flag of distress fluttering in the vicinity of his os coccygis, sidled into the old gent's cozy parlor, and whimpered, "Ask pardon, Governor, but really, I can't pay that interest on the interest which you was kind enough to pay for me. I'm out of pocket on the whole thing, and I don't know but you'll have to take the road and run it yourself." "Well," says the Governor, "that's bad," and he scratched his head and looked glum-or-wise, and that ended that matter. And the Centennial came and went, as the next one will come and go, but Tom's road even then didn't pay, and even the road to John Canuck's door was a bad investment. One of the poor wards said that he "wished the

Governor had hired hacks to carry the passengers to Tom's road. It would have saved a handsome bit." Finally some of the wards became alarmed, and told the Governor that the road must be taken from Tom under the power of sale mortgage, and sold for whatever it would bring, and the money applied to the payment of their notes as far as it would go. In fact, if something wasn't done soon, they should all have to go to the poor house. So the Governor selected some of his brightest sons to look into the matter, and they found things bad enough; a bridge over the Saco worthless; debts owing to many people, &c., &c. Naturally enough, Tom was consulted about various matters, and he finally grew bold enough to say to the pleasant gentleman who were examining his affairs, "The thing for you to do is *not* to sell the road under the power of sale mortgage, but to run the road yourself. You'll save money by it. Go to the court and get a receiver appointed, my confidential clerk, for instance, who knows all about the matter, and let him manage for you." And the receiver was appointed. Some of the Governor's wards—the prying and disagreeable one, for instance—are asking questions which they ought to be ashamed of, if they, by this arrangement, are to assume unforeseen liabilities? They are distrustful of anything which Tom suggests, yet the birds sing as sweetly and the world spins round as merrily as ever.

ONE OF THE WARDS.

A PERIOD OF PERIL

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

OF THE

ADOPTION

OF THE

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER

AT

CITY HALL, PORTLAND, MAINE

APRIL 30, 1889

A PERIOD OF PERIL.

IT is thirteen years since we, as a people, joined together in celebrating the centennial of American independence, and yet, as a matter of fact, this year more appropriately marks the inauguration of our independence, than the year which was selected to mark that auspicious event.

The thirteen years between 1776 and 1789 were years of trial; years of doubt and danger, in which the actors, themselves, in the great drama then being enacted, had no conception of the importance of the parts which they were playing, nor forecast of the issue of the plot. When the boom of cannon ceased, and the smoke of battle lifted from the scene, the people of the thirteen colonies found themselves facing difficulties and dangers which they had not hitherto considered. They were distinct and independent communities, with conflicting aims and interests, and each withal jealous of its respective rights; hence the suggestion of a national republic to which these rights would, in a measure be subordinate, could only be received by many with disfavor.

A republic! men exclaimed. Such a scheme is impracticable. The country is too large and the means of communication between the colonies too difficult for such a government to maintain itself.


It was a period of peril, and the few wise men,

who comprehended the gravity of the situation, regarded it with deepest solicitude.

Hitherto the thirteen colonies had been acting under a temporary confederation to resist the aggressions of England, and having achieved more than they had dreamed of when they unitedly entered into the conflict, they were not in the best mood to make the sacrifices necessary to form a republic, in which their individuality would in a measure be lost; hence a resolution not to set over themselves a government to which they would be obliged to render obedience was widely prevalent.

At this time, it may be truthfully said, that the kind of government most popular with the people, was the one under which they had achieved independence, which was a congress composed of representatives from the various colonies.

Yet this form of government had proved itself in many important particulars, to be wholly inadequate to perform the onerous duties devolving upon it, since it possessed no power to enforce its will. At the outset, when it convened in a dangerous emergency, its action was prompt and effectual; but the first effort made to perfect it by defining its powers, revealed its inherent weakness, and a few of the wiser statesmen of the period realized, that such a government was powerless to maintain authority for any considerable time over the confederated colonies, which, it was plain to see, were held together by bonds of temporary self-interest, which were at any moment liable to part asunder.



It is interesting to study the evolution of ideas, which out of the chaos of jarring elements united in forming that unique governmental system, which has for a century proved itself to be the best which the world has yet witnessed.

The first important scheme towards changing the unstable form of government, under the guidance of which the colonies were drifting into confusion, was formulated by Peletiah Webster, whose work, "A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States of North America," was published in 1783. In this scheme, Webster proposed to divide the representatives of the states into two houses, and to establish a Federal court, with powers somewhat similar to those exercised by our present United States court. His plan also embraced public departments with their respective heads.

But this scheme of Webster met with a cold reception, and was generally regarded as Utopian, although we now see that it contained the germ of the system ultimately adopted. For a time it seemed as though out of the chaos of conflicting theories, no acceptable plan could be evolved; when, two years after the promulgation of Peletiah Webster's plan, Noah Webster, the subsequent author of the dictionary, which bears his name, published his views in a pamphlet entitled "Sketches of American Policy."

The central idea of Noah Webster, and one of great practical importance, was that, for the welfare as well as for the safety of the states, a new system of government should be established, *which should act*

not on the states as such; but directly upon individuals, and that Congress should be endowed with plenary power to make its laws effectual. Thus was struck the keynote of nationality, which continued to vibrate above the discords of partisan strife until it obtained recognition.

Yet the idea of Webster was not generally favored; nor should this seem strange to anyone, who has observed the uncertain character of public sentiment upon important questions; for diversity of opinion is not confined to the speculative fields of philosophy and metaphysics, but finds in the arena of practical affairs an equally congenial range, and questions, which should find their solution in the common experience of the race, are kept in agitation with a never tiring zeal. Discouraging indeed was the outlook for the establishment of a national government, and Congress, apparently realizing this, largely occupied itself with the necessities of the hour; especially with questions of raising money to pay the public indebtedness, and to defray the expense of government. In vain it appealed to the states for pecuniary relief; indeed, its appeals became so frequent and so piteous, that it earned for itself, the contemptible title of a government of supplication. Foreign powers cared not to make treaties with a government powerless to execute them; hence the commerce of the states was at the mercy of lawless adventurers. To some minds emancipation from the somewhat severe rule of the mother country began to seem as not an unmixed blessing. Even Washington himself declared the condition of affairs no better than anarchy.

In 1785, Massachusetts attempted to inaugurate measures to regulate commerce, which had fallen into such wretched condition, and Congress was aroused to the necessity of action. James Munroe took the lead at this moment, and prepared a bill providing for the regulation of commerce by the Confederate Congress; but no sooner was this bill presented, than a representative from Virginia killed it by an argument based upon the proposition that such a measure was a blow at liberty. The legislature of Massachusetts, at this juncture, passed a resolution, which was sent to the Confederate Congress, asking for a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation relative to commerce; but without any result.

Foreign powers, beholding the helplessness of the Confederate government, became arrogant. Spain was far from friendly, and even France could not conceal her chagrin at being unable to reap the benefits, which she had expected from the rupture between the Colonies and the mother country. England, with bull-dog aggressiveness, cut off the commerce, which America had enjoyed with the West Indies, and peremptorily refused to allow American goods to be carried thither except in British bottoms. The future of America grew darker month by month.

For some time the Confederate Congress, pressed for money, had been trying to induce the states to allow it to place a duty upon imports for its support; but New York, which levied an import duty of its own upon merchandise coming into the state from any quarter, objected, as it would interfere with her

revenue. Fortunately, as it turned out, a question soon arose between Maryland and Virginia about the navigation of the Potomac, and this question opened the whole subject of commercial reciprocity between the states; and fortunately again, the leadership in the discussion fell to James Madison, who entertained broad and liberal views upon the subject.

The result was, that Virginia invited a conference of the states upon the subject. Strange to say the states, which apparently had the most at stake in this conference, failed to send representatives to the convention, and all that could be done, was for those present to report to Congress, and ask for the calling of a general convention to meet at Philadelphia in the ensuing May, 1787.

With singular perversity Massachusetts opposed the convention. Events, however, were occurring within her borders, which could but change her views. A spirit of discontent, fostered by the hard conditions which surrounded the people, was growing apace. Tramps and vagabonds infested not only the more populous towns, but overran the rural hamlets, making noisome with their presence the secluded country lane, as well as the fashionable city thoroughfare. Men once prosperous, but reduced to bankruptcy by the disorganized condition of affairs, helped to swell the hosts of pauperism which filled the jails to repletion. A cry was raised against the extravagance of the salary paid to the governor; the Legislature was declared to be aristocratic; the taxes oppressive, and an unlimited issue of fiat paper money was demanded

as a measure of relief. At this juncture, a leader appeared upon the scene in the person of an old Revolutionary soldier, Daniel Shay by name, who gathering a mob of malcontents, besieged the courts at Worcester and Springfield. A force was put into the field by the Massachusetts government, and the rebellion was soon crushed.

This event had taught Massachusetts a lesson, and she no longer hesitated to send her representatives to the convention, which was to consider measures for the common welfare. New York and Rhode Island held out; but, at last, the former urged by that able statesman Alexander Hamilton, reluctantly consented to join in the convention, and accordingly appointed her representatives to attend it.

Rhode Island sullenly refused to take part in the convention, and regarded its proceedings with dissatisfaction.

It was on the fourteenth of May, 1787, that the convention to formulate a new plan of government for the thirteen states assembled at Philadelphia; though some of the New England delegations were tardy in making their appearance to answer the roll-call.

As we glance at the array of names, which formed this historic and immortal group of distinguished men assembled in the City of Brotherly Love, on this memorable occasion, we are awe-struck at what seems like a special interposition of Providence, in bringing together at this critical period so many men competent to deal wisely with the difficult ques-

tions, which were to be presented to them. There was the grave and stately Washington; the blunt and honest Franklin; the urbane and courtly Morris; the skillful and judicious Madison; the keen and witty Randolph; the polished and persistent Hamilton; the zealous and unyielding King; with many others equally efficient, if less active in debate. Such were the men to whom the destinies of a nation were intrusted in this period of peril; men whom we know to have been equal to the trust imposed upon them.

The convention soon divided into two parties, each drawn together by a distinctive idea, that attracted to itself congenial minds. One of these parties contended for a perpetuation of the Confederate Congress with somewhat enlarged powers. The other for a national government with national powers; in other words, one was sectional; the other national. These ideas which came into opposition a century ago, have continued in conflict to our own time; but fortunately for the common weal, the national idea has proved the stronger.

Hitherto the Confederate Congress had been but a government in name. Its members by no means held the same relations to the colonies, which they represented; nor were the same powers delegated to them; indeed, it had ever found the authority of each colony within its own borders supreme. It was now proposed that instead of the several states delegating through their legislatures certain powers, the sovereign people of these states should withdraw from their state governments such powers as were deemed

essential, and bestow them upon the national government.

But what should be the source and basis of representation? Should the representatives to these two houses be chosen directly by the people, and should the representation be proportionate; or should they be chosen by the state legislatures and represent the states equally?

These were questions to excite conflict among the people of every state.

Naturally the national party contended for popular elections, and for a proportionate representation, while the state rights party contended for legislative appointments, and an equal state representation. It was a moment of extreme danger, and for a while it looked as though the fragile union, which then existed, would be shattered in the contest, and America become the theater in which a number of petty governments might play the role of sovereignty with all its attendant perils. This was the outlook when a compromise providentially became possible.

The statesmen of both parties desired to protect the states from usurpation by the general government, and the national party saw in the plan of their state rights opponents, a way to do this; hence it was agreed to adopt the plans of both parties; by which measure, the members of one house would be chosen by the state legislatures on the basis of equal representation, and the members of the other house by the people, upon the basis of proportionate representation.

It was a wonderful compromise between two ap-

parently irreconcilable principles of government, and we may well wonder at the wisdom, which the statesmen of the time displayed, in framing them together to so perfectly subserve the purposes, which they had in view.

The question of the basis of representation for the popular branch of the two houses, was now brought into the arena, and proved one of great difficulty. Should representation be based upon the number of free people in the several states, or upon all, free and bond?

The slave-holding states would not submit to representation based only upon their free inhabitants, and the non slave-holding states objected to having slaves made subjects of proportionate representation. Another conflict ensued, which was also finally settled by counting all free inhabitants, and three-fifths of all others, excluding Indians. On many points there was a commendable unanimity of opinion. The framers of the new Articles of Union, which subsequently became in an amended form the constitution of the United States, had realized how impotent the Federal Congress had been, and they were in a mood to make the new government a strong one, worthy to take rank among the governments of the world; hence they agreed, that it should not only possess the powers delegated to the Confederate Congress, but should be supreme in all cases in which the state legislature might conflict with the national authority, and might even nullify state laws not in harmony with the Articles of Union, or conflicting with treaties made under constitutional authority.

Having agreed upon the functions and powers of the legislative branch of the government, the executive branch next came under consideration; and here theories found an ample field in which to display themselves.

Should the executive power be vested in several individuals or in a single person? Some would have it trinal, and ingeniously argued for this idea; while others argued as ingeniously, and as the event proved with greater force, for a single executive head.

An important question arose respecting the method of electing this branch of the government. Should it be elected directly by the people, or by the legislative branch; and should it have the power to veto the acts of this branch? Scribblers had a broad field in the discussion of this subject in which to air their opinions, and much ink was wasted in the pastime; and finally it was agreed to have but one person to wield executive power, that he should be chosen by the legislative branch of the government to hold office for the period of seven years, and be ineligible to a second term of office.

Having settled the questions relating to the legislative and executive branches of the proposed government, the judicial branch was considered; and this involved one of the prime motives for forming a new government, which was to create the means by which the national government could enforce its authority without a resort to physical force. The authority of the government being made supreme, it could be applied most effectually through the medium of a

judiciary directly upon individuals. To the judicial branch various powers were to be given. It was to exercise jurisdiction in the collection of national revenues; impeachments of national officers, and questions involving the national peace. The judges were to be chosen by the senate or the upper house of congress, and to hold office for life unless removed for misbehavior. This is a brief and imperfect outline of the Articles of Union, which were subsequently wrought into the form of the constitution by the committee of five to whom they were referred, and under whose skillful hands they were improved.

Of course various interesting questions, impossible even to touch upon in the brief time at command, were discussed, pro and con; but finally the work was accomplished, and the constitution ready for the signatures of the weary members of the convention. To some it was so unsatisfactory, that they would not have signed it, had they not feared that by withholding their signatures, a disruption of the Union would take place. Such an event, they believed, would be followed by a reign of terror, the end of which could not be foreseen.

Two of the delegates from New York withdrew from the convention at an early day, leaving but one representative from that state, Alexander Hamilton, who manfully battled for the constitution, and affixed to it his signature; though it would seem with grave misgivings with respect to its final adoption by the people; since he declared, that he regarded such a consumation as a prodigy, to the completion of which he looked forward with trembling anxiety.

Four others did not sign it; namely, one from Maryland, two from Virginia and one from Massachusetts. The Constitution was now before the public, and was not only to be subject to the criticisms of the people, but to run the gauntlet of the legislatures of the several states. It hardly looked as though it would reach the goal of adoption; indeed, many of its friends were not at all sanguine in this regard. It was printed in all the papers of the country, and was eagerly scanned by old and young, as eagerly perhaps, as the news of the battle of Gettysburg was scanned during that other critical period in our history.

It was praised and denounced freely. In the barroom of the country tavern, it was pulled to pieces over the mug of flip and egg nogg without mercy. The loungers in the village grocery discussed its various parts in clouds of smoke, and passed opinions upon them, favorable or otherwise, at pleasure. Never before was a document so discussed, and the effect of this discussion educationally upon the people, must have been important. Finally the state legislatures took the constitution in hand.

Delaware won the honor of being the first to adopt it. She was promptly followed by Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia and Connecticut. In Massachusetts it encountered bitter opposition; but its friends struggled manfully to procure its adoption. In this they succeeded more by good policy than by arguments, though most able arguments were made in its behalf. In the legislature of New Hampshire, there was a majority at first against its adoption;

but the influence of the example of Massachusetts turned the scale in its favor, and New Hampshire became the seventh to adopt it. In the other states, the conflict between the friends and foes of the constitution was sharp; but by the end of July, 1788, all but two states had adopted it. These two states were North Carolina and Rhode Island. The former held out until November 21, 1789; and the latter until May 29, 1790, when they also fell into line. The bitter persistence with which Rhode Island opposed the formation of the constitution, undoubtedly reacted in its favor; but the representatives of that state only voiced the sentiments of their constituents, which cannot be said of the representatives of some of the other states; indeed, had the constitution been submitted to a popular vote, it is not probable that it would have been adopted.

So sacred has this remarkable instrument, the constitution of the United States, become, that it is difficult for us, at this time, to realize how it could have met with so much opposition from men of the character and intelligence, which many of its most active opponents possessed; but we must consider that the vision of the best and wisest may be clouded by prejudice or affected by surrounding conditions.

These men were dealing with untried problems, and experience prompted them to caution in taking a step which might endanger their liberties. The future of their country, pregnant with mighty events, was hidden from their vision. To us that future has, in a measure, been revealed, and we can but regard

it with admiration and awe. When the United States declared their independence of the mother country, they possessed a population not more than double that of the present population of New York or Philadelphia. Since that period they have increased in population more than twenty-fold. They then possessed less than one tenth of their present area; the remainder being held by France, Spain, Russia and Mexico. The titles of all these, except the title of Mexico, to any portion of the North American continent have been extinguished, and to-day the entire continent, except the comparatively small portion held by Mexico, is in the possession of the Anglo-Saxon race; a race whose influence in the near future will control the world. This race is animated by ideas, which make it invincible, and chief of these are the ideas of civil liberty and the universal brotherhood of man, the latter of which is the underlying principle of Christianity. As these ideas have proved to be the germs of all true progress in the past, this race which is their exponent, must exercise a controlling influence upon the world's future.

Two centuries ago this race numbered but about five millions; to-day it numbers more than one hundred millions, and is increasing with a remarkable rapidity. Yet its power is not in numbers, but in its indomitable spirit; for although it comprises but a fifteenth of the world's population, it rules one-third of the globe and about that proportion of its inhabitants.

What relation to this wonderful race do the people

of the United States sustain? Let us for a moment consider. We possess a territory capable of sustaining, if populated no more densely than Great Britain, nearly one and a quarter billion, or twenty times our present population. Should our growth in population be as great for the next century as in the past, we should possess, when the second centennial of the inauguration of Washington is celebrated, a nation of about seven hundred and fifty millions of souls. With these figures before our eyes, we are indeed warranted in believing that the United States is destined to be the center of Anglo-Saxon influence; that beneficent influence, which will inspire men of every race the world over, to make the best and highest use of all their powers, not only for the individual, but for the common weal.

What a future, then, is before this people, this chosen people, upon whom the Almighty has bestowed a domain grander and richer than has been bestowed upon any other people, and to whom has been intrusted the ark of Christian civilization, that it may lead in that glorious work, the establishment of God's kingdom upon the earth.

Of this land the poet has well written,—

Here the free spirit of mankind, at length,
Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place
A limit to the giant's strength?
Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?

REMINISCENCES OF A GREAT ENTERPRISE.

REMINISCENCES OF A GREAT ENTERPRISE.

BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Feb. 20, 1890.

A FEW days since a paper came into my hands, which awakened memories of the Portland of my boyhood, and peopled it with the forms of men who have passed to another sphere of existence; and knowing that this Society has an affiliation, I may say a loving tenderness for reminiscences, I have thought proper to expose to it the contents of this paper, hoping that still other reminiscences of a kindred nature may thereby be awakened.

The paper to which I refer is the journal of John A. Poor, describing his journey to Montreal, begun February 5, 1845, in connection with the proposed construction of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad.

I was a boy at this time, and was wont upon holidays to pass a portion of my time in the store of a relative, which was frequented by the promoters of this great enterprise. This store occupied the site of the present Casco Bank, and here gathered, almost daily, a remarkable body of men to discuss the project pro and con. Among these were William Pitt Preble, tall, dignified and self-contained, who spoke sparingly, but whose sententious utterance deeply impressed those who listened to him; Josiah S. Little, portly, rosy, good natured, and ready to argue *ad finem* every point presented to him; in this respect

quite unlike Judge Preble; Randolph Codman, tall, spare, and sallow, with keen eye and aquiline nose, a man full of wit, and even ready at repartee; certainly a most striking character; Luther and George Jewett, the former having a long and serious face, iron gray hair, straight and long, and a voice seemingly held back, which impressed the listener all the more; the latter, stout, jolly and full of quaint humor; Joseph Pope, then an editor, a man of ample proportions, of a sanguine temperament and unmistakably a *bon vivant*; a man to "set the table a-roar;" Dr. Stephen Cummings and my father, old friends, and both apt *raconteurs*, whose treasuries of humor were inexhaustible, and who vied with each other in relating amusing experiences in their medical practice. Upon these would break in suddenly, John A. Poor, a man of immense proportions—to my eye then a veritable giant—who would talk with vehement action for a few moments, and then leave as suddenly and impetuously as he had appeared, as though he could spare no more time for talk, but must be at more useful work.

These were the men who would gather about the stove in the rear of the principal grocery store of the city, as men are wont to gather even now in the country grocery, and seated upon boxes, barrels, stools, coffee bags, or whatever else would serve the purpose, would discuss the difficulties of building a railroad to Canada through the forests of Maine, and the great advantages which such a road would secure for Portland.

For a considerable time, the questions connected

with the enterprise were discussed by these men and others who would join with them. Sometimes General Samuel Fessenden, a man of remarkably attractive qualities, who could make a witty point and appreciate one with keen zest; "Squire" Deblois, suave, polite and courtly, who always reminded one of a typical English squire of the old school; James C. Churchill, a quiet well balanced man of much force of character, and Charles Q. Clapp, an impetuous and fiery man, a Bismarckian spirit, would join the others, whom I have named, in the discussion of the projected enterprise—a discussion always interlarded with telling stories and witty jokes, which imparted to these gatherings a fascination impossible to describe.

From these discussions grew public meetings, and the more active of those who had engaged in them took part in presenting their views to the people. A general interest in the subject was thereby awakened, and before the meeting of the legislature at the close of the year 1844, it was determined to apply to that body for a charter to construct the proposed road, an undertaking which seemed to many people wild and almost impossible of accomplishment. Preble, Poor, Little and others threw themselves into the movement, and in October, 1844, James Hall, a civil engineer, was appointed by the mayor and aldermen of Portland to make a reconnoissance of a route for a railroad from Portland to Montreal, and on the twenty-third of the month named, he began the examination. The season, he says in his report, made on the seventh of December following, "had already too far advanced to make

a minute examination of the whole distance before winter should set in, and as it was desirable that as much information as possible should be obtained before the assembly of the legislature, that, if the project was feasible, a charter might be obtained, and other preliminary steps taken, so as to insure the earliest possible success of the enterprise," he proceeded to the interior "to examine the more difficult parts of the route, through the forests, among the highlands, trusting to the general information" which he "had already acquired of the intermediate distance," and such as he "could cursorily obtain, for a description of this part of the route."

As soon as the legislature convened at Augusta, steps were taken to procure a charter, based upon this report, and upon February 7, 1845, John Neal in an article in the Advertiser, joyfully wrote :—

Since my last, the legislature of Maine have granted us a perpetual charter, incapable of being repealed, altered, limited or qualified by legislative power, without the consent of the stockholders; and wholly free from taxation, now and forever, except upon real estate purchased by the corporation; shares, including the right of way, being personal estate, and taxable to the owners where they have their home; not to be tapped on the western side, though it may be sluiced on the east.

Two days before the date of this letter, John A. Poor, knowing that the charter would be granted, started on his famous ride to Montreal in order to lay his plans before the Canadians, and kindle in them an enthusiasm which he hoped upon the arrival of Judge Preble, who was to follow him by express with the charter as soon as it was signed, would increase to a

degree which would insure the construction of the Canadian portion of the road to the Vermont line. The journal kept by him on this journey, undertaken in the midst of a furious storm, begins as follows, on February 5, three days before the final passage of the charter.

JOURNAL OF JOHN A. POOR.

MONTREAL Feb. 12th, 1845.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 oclock A.M., of Wednesday, the 5th inst., I left the U. S. Hotel. The wind which had been increasing the whole day previous, blew a perfect gale from the N. E. and the snow had commenced falling with great rapidity for about an hour previous. Before setting off alone I thought it prudent to try the storm, & I drove across Green Street bridge. The new fallen snow lay only in drifts & the larger portion of the way was glare ice, over which the wind slewed the sleigh in any direction.

The snow was nearly if not quite a coarse hail, & striking the face with such violence as to prevent not only yourself but the horse from seeing his way, as our way led us to take the whole fury of the storm in the teeth.

Finding it unsafe to proceed alone in the midst of such a tempest on my return to the U. S. I inquired if no one could be found to accompany me, as the driver who brought me the horse, positively refused to stir an inch with me. Mr. Cheney came to my aid & volunteered his services as soon as he could procure a fur coat which he soon obtained. Thus furnished we started & such a night & such a storm I never before encountered. The Drifts were already several feet deep & the residue of the road was full of objects to fright our horse who sheared at every step.

To face the storm with our eyes open was impossible, and the only protection to them was the covering of ice which hung in masses from our eyebrows. Our horse regarded neither highways or byways but climbed stone walls, wood piles, or any thing in the way. To keep the road was impossible & 5 times we called up the people on the way to get our road which as many

times we lost, & finally at the end of three hours we reached Leach's Tavern $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles out where we had an opportunity to thaw ourselves out. Mr Cheney who was less clad than myself was actually suffering from the cold.

At the first dawn we started afresh and ploughed a path through the drifts to Gray Corner. Jack Frost took a nip at my nose and a twist upon one ear. All our arrangements were disarranged, and my worthy friend Barrell remonstrated against an attempt to go further. I soon found Berry who has been a veteran stage driver & he soon put forward armed with a shovel &c. to open the Drifts & with wonderful energy & dispatch he landed me Safe on Paris Hill at 3 oclock, after shoveling and breaking tho stupendous drifts nearly hard enough to bear the horse.

To reach Rumford that night Waterhouse pronounced impossible & so I was compelled to lie over till morning & as soon as my dinner was dispatched I went to bed from which I did not stir till daylight. I was soon under way with that prince of stage drivers, Waterhouse, whose tandem team cut through the drifts higher than the horses backs. He sent out "videttes" to break the path, & before one oclock we had reached Wardwells. Dinner was quickly done & with his cousin, Jere Wardwell, we put forward for Andover, the region of snow drifts & northeasters. All along the way we turned out the "videttes" 2, 3 & 4 at a time, who hitched to and dragged us through the drifts to Andover Corner. Mr Purinton was soon ready for the Surplus, & two young men volunteered to break the path on horse back, without this, progress would have been impossible in the dark.

At the Surplus, 6 miles from Andover, we got a change of horses, & Mr. Wallace Abbott of Andover continued to pilot us through the roads. Capt. Brown, who had been in readiness the day before was soon on the ground at B. I despatched Mr. Green across $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to get him, as he was 3 miles off from Braggs. From B. to Errol 9 miles, we could make no faster progress than on a walk about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. The Snow unbroken lay some 18 inches deep. The cold was most cruel &

intense. We despatched a man ahead of us from B, Mr. Morse, by whom Capt. Bragg was aroused & we found a cheerful fire & hearty welcome.

William Bragg soon was ready to carry me through "The Notch" to Colebrook. Two young men volunteered to go ahead & break the path & as they approached the Notch they started out other horses & riders so that we had 4 horses & 5 men to put us through this wonderful chasm or pass.

This stupendous curiosity of which no adequate description has ever been given seemed more sublime than ever. The perpendicular Walls rising on either side for some 1000 feet hang in frightful masses over head & the narrow path way not more than 30 or 40 feet wide, was piled with the drifted snow. Where our path lay it was a sloping drift at an angle of 45 degrees & no sign of footstep anywhere. We dug a track for the horses & carried our baggage sleighs through by hand. The wind howled fearfully through the chasm & the drifting snow darkened the air, which at the depth of the gorge always seems sombre and blackened. In less than two hours we made our way through the Notch tho one drift as we approached the western entrance seemed to completely bar all approach. We cut a path way into it and by treading the snow dragged our horses through tho they passed out of sight as you looked across the tract.

The daring and intrepidity of the young men of our party was most remarkable. The cold was intense, the air filled with snow & the wind blew with such violence you could scarcely keep on your feet. With the greatest composure and apparently enjoying the sport, these hardy fellows penetrated the drifts with an apparent relish for its excitement & would accept no compensation for their aid. Such a storm as this has not been known here for many years. Had I left one day sooner I should have found a splendid road and could have easily reached Montreal in 30 hours.

From the Notch to Colebrook and Canaan we found the snow less & a path broken for us all the way. I was enabled to reach Compton before 9 o'clock in the evening, though the road from Canaan was much of the way drifted full & without any track.

Here I met Mr Pinney, a most efficient Rail Road man & an accomplished gentleman, who volunteered to carry me on to Sherbrooke in the morning, where I remained the next day & had an opportunity of conversing with our friends.

At 5 oclock on Sunday Osgood started with me for Granby, 46 miles where we arrived at 5 oclock p. m., dragging through an untrodden road with 18 inches of snow. From this place I found a better track & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 a. m. of Monday I was at the Exchange. The cold was intense, some 18 below zero & in crossing the St. Lawrence over 2 miles the mist of frost entirely prevented our seeing three rods ahead.

After 3 hours of sleep I went to meet the Board of Trade, who had the matter of the Rail Road before them. Here I found Galt and Mr Lyford of New Hampshire.

I presented my maps & documents to the Board of Trade & entered into a variety of calculations & Statements showing the advantages of a Rail Road to Montreal & the peculiar claims of the Maine route.

I was happily met with an attentive reception & the idea seemed to take full possession of several members of the Board, that any other route than that of Portland would fail to secure to Montreal the great advantages of the trade of the St. Lawrence Valley.

Upon Mr. Poor's return from Montreal, the greatest enthusiasm in the undertaking was observable. The whole town seemed to take a personal interest in the enterprise. Of course there were some who criticised the undertaking, and to them, lions in the way were numerous. Great snows would prevent the trains from running in the winter, which would greatly restrict the expected traffic between the seaboard and the St. Lawrence. The cost of building and operating such a road would be enormous, and those who invested their money in it would never see it again; but such objec-

tions were without force to the earnest men who had the enterprise in hand. They but served as a gentle stimulus to more energetic effort, if more were possible.

One of the most enthusiastic and voluminous writers on the subject was John Neal, whose trenchant pen did good service to the cause. In a series of articles published in the Portland Advertiser during the winter and spring of 1845, he discussed the subject in all its phases, fortifying his arguments by statistics which were so convincing to his readers that nobody attempted to question their accuracy. Really it is instructive to examine these statistics to-day, and the many arguments which Mr. Neal pressed into the service of the projected railroad. Hardly a point possible to adduce in its favor escaped his notice.

In the meantime the people of Canada were being aroused to the importance of a railroad to the Atlantic, and their papers soon began to take up the cry in its favor. The charter of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad was signed on the tenth of February, and on the evening of the eleventh, an immense public meeting was held in City Hall. To quote from the report :—

The City Hall was crammed at an early hour, so that by seven o'clock it was hardly possible to find standing room, and crowds kept coming to the door and going away discouraged. The whole evening through we never saw it so full before. The meeting was called to order by Mr. John Purinton and Eliphalet Greely, mayor of the city, was placed in the chair, and John Neal chosen secretary.

Messrs. Moore and Pennoyer from Sherbrooke, L. C., the

former, at one time a captain in the royal navy, and of late a member of the provincial parliament; and the latter, a thorough-going man of business, were then introduced to the meeting, and received with a hearty and general outbreak of enthusiasm.

Mr. Henry H. Boody moved that they should be welcomed with three hearty cheers, which were given till the house shook to its foundation.

Judge Preble, chairman of the provisional committee, then made his report, commenting at length upon the liberality and the wisdom of the charter, its safety for investment, and its particular as well as general character. He was interrupted again and again by applause, and especially when he complimented the representatives of Portland for their zeal and faithfulness, and the friends of the bill in the legislature of the state for their promptitude and liberality.

Having pointed out the advantages of the charter over all others in our country, and explained certain of the clauses relating to taxation, the right of way, and the purchase of lands for depots, etc., etc., so as to show the property of stockholders to be forever free from possibility of taxation, except under their own laws and at home, and having dwelt upon the fact that the legislature could never interfere with the rights of the corporation so long as they behaved themselves; nor even when they misbehaved, otherwise than by due process of law, he announced his intention to set off for Montreal to-morrow morning at four o'clock (cheers) bearing the charter; and hoped to arrive there on Friday night, by another and longer road, (but more used in winter) than that running through the Dixville Notch; and finished a speech of about an hour in length, by complimenting the gentlemen from Canada, and offering a set of resolutions which were unanimously adopted and readopted with a tremendous roar of applause, and without a single dissenting voice.

After the adoption of the resolutions, which space will not permit to be copied, Mr. Anderson, the collector of Portland, was then called up at the further end of the hall. He said:—

He did not rise, for that were impossible, he and five hundred others having stood the whole evening; that he and they found it harder getting through the hall than through the Dixville Notch, and after treating the subject a few moments in his off-hand way, complimented the gentlemen from Canada for their frankness, discretion and straightforwardness, accompanied by continual cheers, concluded with avowing his belief that a subscription for half a million could be had in Portland; and that if there were those who would not subscribe in fair proportion to their interests and property, lying by to speculate upon the necessities of the more generous, there might be found a way to make them. This intimation was received with shouts of applause.

Mr. Moore from Canada then took the platform, and in a handsome speech thanked the people of Portland for their kind reception, and avowed his intention to tell the people of Canada on his return, that nowhere could they find a heartier coöperation than at Portland. These remarks were received with repeated bursts of applause. Mr. Moore was followed by his colleague, Mr. Pennoyer, who, protesting that he also was unaccustomed to public speaking, and especially before so large and intelligent an audience, thanked the people of Portland for the encouragement they had given to the great enterprise; declared that the arguments in its favor were like the edge of a pair of shears, all on one side; avowed the belief that now it would be carried through, concluded with repeating, I thank you, having been interrupted again and again by the cheers of the meeting.

Both gentlemen were evidently averse to saying much; not from inability, as they had before satisfied all who had seen them; but from a wish to keep free from all 'entangling alliances,' and from a determination to get back to Canada with judgments untrammelled, and with understandings accessible to future evidence, come from what quarter it might. Their admissions, though very guarded, were nevertheless, frank, manly, and full of encouragement.

Mr. Neal was then called to the platform, and after declaring that he would not make a speech, that in his opinion the time for speech making upon this subject had gone by, since the whole

State of Maine was a-fire with it, as had been proved by the legislature having abandoned at once, and he hoped forever, their whole state policy, their self destroying war upon the rights of corporations, he called the attention of the meeting to the fact that he with these two gentlemen from Canada, originated this most magnificent enterprise only about three or four months ago.

After the passage of a vote to publish a certified copy of the proceedings of the meeting in the city papers, the meeting adjourned "with three more hearty and prolonged cheers for the gentlemen from Canada, accompanied by a general wish for their safe return to their families."

The importance of making a good impression upon the Canadian visitors was apparent. Boston, alarmed by the popular demonstration in Portland for a railroad to Canada, was making active efforts to attract the attention of the Canadian people to the superior facilities which it offered for the terminus of a road between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, and Portland was alive to the danger. A war with printers' ink soon began. The Portland papers sneered at Boston harbor. It was rapidly filling up, and would soon be unsafe for vessels of large draft to enter; then it was constantly freezing up in winter. If a cold snap came on and ice formed anywhere in Boston harbor, prying eyes discovered the fact, and ready tongues related it to Portland editors, who with attractive headlines informed the world of the unsatisfactory condition of their rival's harbor. The following extracts from the Portland papers of February, 1845 can hardly be classed as cheerful reading to Boston people.

PORTLAND HARBOR NOT FROZEN OVER!

With the thermometer at sixteen degrees below zero on the north side of the ropewalk this morning at sunrise, and at from two degrees to six degrees below zero during the day in different parts of the town, our harbor is not closed; nor has it been closed for a single hour this winter, notwithstanding the terrible weather. Two vessels have gone out to-day from the upper docks. But how is it with Boston harbor? Let the Boston papers speak for themselves.

From the Daily Advertiser, Feb. 3.

Below—Ship Clinton. Two of the Clinton's crew are sick and unable to do duty, and the rest with the crew of the Rochambeau are frostbitten, and both vessels are in want of assistance. Captain Sturgis on the revenue cutter Hamilton, which vessel is anchored in Nantucket Roads, will proceed to-morrow morning and place a fresh crew in each vessel, to assist them up to the city.

From the Boston Courier.

The ice makes in the docks and flats, but the harbor and channel remain unobstructed. It is the anniversary of the cold weather of last year, when the harbor was frozen over, and the passage was cut through the ice for the February steamer.

From the Daily Mail, Feb. 7.

Our harbor is about as good, or rather about as bad as closed up. It is filled with ice and snow, and it is with the greatest difficulty that a passage can be kept open for the East Boston ferry.

The alleged quotations from Boston journals, the Portland editor regarded as "facts which speak for themselves."

These items appeared while Poor was on his way to Montreal. The theory that Boston harbor was rapidly filling up has been alluded to. A single item alluding to this may not be out of place here. It appeared in the Argus and purported to have originated in Boston itself.

It is well-known that the sea during every easterly gale, is making destructive inroads on those outer islands in the harbor, which are composed altogether of diluvial materials. The Great Brewster is much exposed to the action of the waves, and unless the government adopts some preventive measures very soon, this great barrier will be removed—washed away, and the ship channel will be filled, and the harbor much injured, perhaps destroyed so far as relates to large vessels, and the formidable and expensive defenses on George's Island will be rendered entirely useless.

These attacks amazed the Boston editors, and they replied sharply to them ; but the fact is, that the Boston editors were the aggressors, as may be seen from an article in a Boston paper, published in the autumn of 1844, which is but a single example of the methods which they took to belittle the Portland enterprise.

RAILROAD TO CANADA.

We perceive that some of the Maine papers, among them the Norway Advertiser, are drumming up the Maine people to construct a road to command the travel to Montreal. We would first inform the Maine editors that they and their readers have not sufficient enterprise and public spirit to accomplish such an object. While your people are disputing, we of Boston and neighborhood shall have built a road. We have got it started and nearly finished to Fitchburg, some fifty miles, and have our charter and means raising to extend it to Brattleboro, Vt., forthwith, from which place to Lake Champlain, the hardy and enterprising Vermonters have a charter to extend it, and it will early be built. From thence, the short distance to Montreal the British North American capital, a road will be built even before the other is finished. Thus the little village of Boston is likely to lay in the direct road from London to Montreal, and our road will doubtless have the conveying of the immense travel and trade between the mother country and her North American colonies.

Such articles as this only served to concentrate public efforts in Maine upon the projected enterprise so ably officered by Preble, Poor and their associates.

We have seen that Mr. Poor started for Montreal on February fifth, and that he was followed by Judge Preble on the twelfth. There was another part to the programme prepared by these skillful managers to arouse the sluggish Canadians to action. Upon the arrival of the next English steamer in Boston, an express was to start from Portland with the latest European news, and it was hoped to get this news through from Boston by way of Portland earlier than by the usual Boston route. The steamer *Hibernia* reached Boston on the morning of February nineteen, a week after Judge Preble's departure, and while he and Mr. Poor were still in Montreal, and her news together with the latest European papers which she brought, were at once dispatched by locomotive express to Portland, reaching here between one and two o'clock on that day. These were immediately taken by D. H. Furbish and E. P. Burbank, who at once set out with them for Montreal in a light sleigh. On the evening of the twentieth, Furbish and Burbank drove into Montreal. Judge Preble had just concluded an address to the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal, upon the subject of a railroad communication between that city and the Atlantic, when "a striking incident occurred." There was a bustle at the door and a message was handed to him, announcing the arrival of the express with the latest European news, "which was not expected for a week."

The announcement of this to the audience we are told "completely electrified the assembly, and actually clinched the nail the judge had been driving."

On the evening of the twenty-eighth, Furbish and Burbank reached home and were welcomed with enthusiasm. Mr. Furbish gave the time made by the express as follows. To Gray Corner, sixteen and one-half miles in one hour and two minutes; Norway Village, forty-two miles from Portland, two hours and fifty-five minutes, Bethel Hill, sixty-two miles, four hours and fifty-five minutes. From here the progress was less rapid; but Lancaster, one hundred and ten miles from Portland, was reached in nine and one-half hours, and Canaan, one hundred and fifty-two miles in thirteen and one-half hours; Montreal was reached at twenty minutes before nine o'clock in the evening, just thirty-one hours after leaving Portland.

Certainly this was a most remarkable ride. The express bearing the Hibernia's news from Boston by way of Concord and Burlington, reached Montreal sixty-two hours behind the Portland express. From this time meetings were held throughout Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Canada, wherever it was supposed the road might be located. Stock subscriptions were started, and preparations were made to begin work at the Atlantic end of the road on July fourth, five months after securing the charter. When the notable day arrived, all Portland was astir, and every citizen seemed to feel that the undertaking was a personal one. Judge Preble began the work with a shovel prepared for the occasion, and which was displayed to admiring eyes for

some days previous to the great event ; but space will not permit a description of the ceremonies, which were like those common to such occasions, and familiar to all.

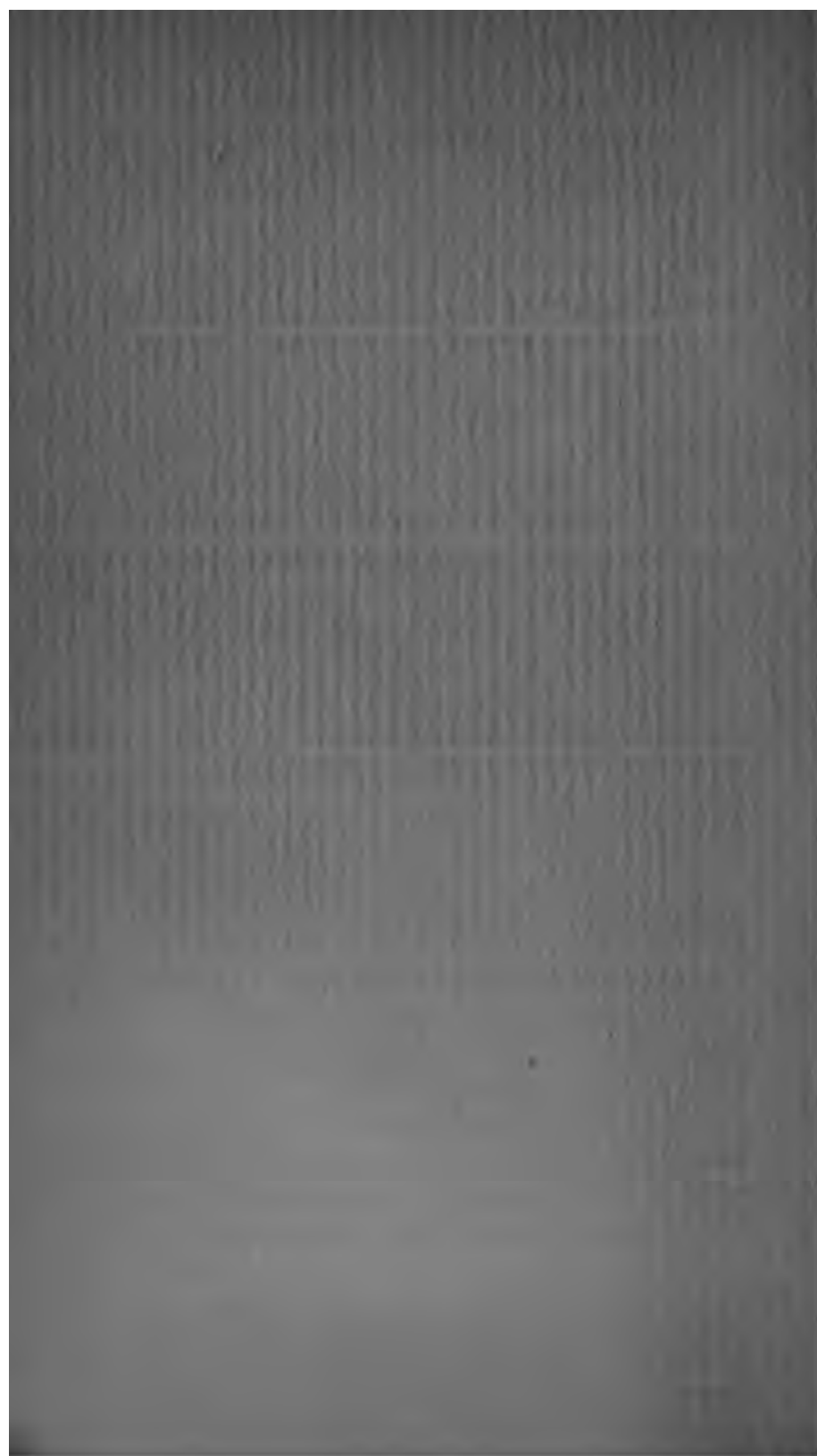
A few words may be said about the financial success of this enterprise. It was predicted by many that Portland would never see any portion of the money it invested in the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad back again in its treasury. This prediction, however, was not realized. Portland made loans to the road aggregating two millions of dollars, and just before leasing it to the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, agreed to loan it three hundred thousand dollars more ; but after the lease the money was not required. This loan of two million, with six per cent interest, has all been repaid as well as the considerable stock subscriptions made by our citizens.

When we consider the advantages which Portland has derived from the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad, advantages which would have been much greater but for the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, we must admit that the most sanguine anticipations of its enthusiastic projectors have been fully realized. It has however, been "tapped on the west" in spite of Mr. Neals' confident assertion that it would never be. Although many earnest and able men did noble work in carrying the enterprise forward to success, to John A. Poor must be awarded the honor of having set it in motion.

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CHRISTOPHER LEVETT

BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER



**CHRISTOPHER LEVETT,
THE FIRST OWNER OF THE SOIL OF PORTLAND.
BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.**

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 26, 1891.

A NUMBER of years ago the Maine Historical Society published a book of some thirty pages, entitled "A Voyage into New England, begun in 1623 and ended in 1624. Performed by Christopher Levett, His Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England, printed at London by William Jones, and sold by Edward Brewster, at the sign of the Bible, in Paul's Churchyard, 1628."

Having read this book, one naturally desired to know something of the author, since it disclosed a man of interesting personality; but upon searching found that not enough was known about him to form a brief note to his book, not even the date of his birth or death. Two things, however, were apparent, first, that when he wrote his narrative, he was living at Sherborne, Dorsetshire, and second, that he was a Yorkshireman.

Sherborne, then, and its neighboring parishes seemed to be places which might reward the seeker for memorials of the author of a Voyage into New England, but after a year's search among parish registers in that locality, all that was discovered was a record in

a visitation of the county, of the names of his wife, which was Frances, and of several of his children; but this was valuable information, for it enabled one to follow up his wife's family, the name of which was Lottisham, and this connection gave some idea of Levett's social standing. York, of course, demanded attention, but there were several parishes in the city and neighborhood and the search of their records was disappointing. After considerable search for the early seat of the family, it was found at Normanton, Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry VII, where it had flourished for several centuries, and in the old church was an interesting tomb, erected to Elizabeth Levett, the founder of a girls' school there. The search of old records further disclosed that a branch of the family settled at Melton, and here was found in the old church founded in the age of Henry I, a stained window bearing the Levett arms. Parishes throughout Yorkshire were carefully searched, and while Levetts were found here and there, offshoots of the family at Normanton, Christopher for a long time strangely eluded search, but at last several important scraps were found; first, his baptism on April 5, 1586, and the name of his father, Percival, and of his mother, Elizabeth Rotherford; and then of his marriage to Mercy More in the church at Guisley in 1608, and later of the baptism of their four children at All Saints Pavement in York. The families of his father and mother, and of his wife's parents were traced up through records which occupied much time and patience, but this was productive of many facts.

A considerable collection of items had now been gathered, and these, together with a large number of letters from antiquaries and others, were arranged chronologically in a book, and the search continued elsewhere. In the office of the Public Records, London, several important documents were found ; a letter written by him to the secretary of Buckingham, and in the letter book of Lord Conway some very interesting matter relating to his New England affairs, as well as a proclamation of Charles I, also relating thereto ; but after several years' search, the most valuable material of all was found at Melbourne House in Derbyshire, comprising a number of letters of Levett to Secretary Coke, which brought him and his doings more plainly to view. This was certainly most encouraging, and copies of all these documents were added to a collection which was growing apace.

But there was one discouraging thing ; after 1628, persistent search failed to find anything whatever relating to him, except a single scrap in 1632, mentioning an inheritance of one of his daughters from her father. Of course, this revealed the fact that he was dead at this date. It had been all along suspected, that an entry in John Winthrop's journal, to the effect that when Winthrop landed at Salem in 1630, John Endicott and "Captain Levett" came aboard his ship to welcome him, might refer to Christopher Levett, as well as a statement somewhat later, that "Captain Levett" died at sea ; but for a long time no proof could be found to confirm this suspicion, and a suggestion of it even attracted disapprobation. At last Bristol, Eng-

land, was visited to examine old records there for matters relating to several of the founders of New England, and the seeker was amply rewarded by finding that the "Captain Levett" referred to by Winthrop was indeed the Christopher Levett he was seeking, and that it was in the probate court of Bristol, that his wife, Frances, administered upon the effects brought there by the ship in which he died. Thus after ten years of persistent seeking, a sufficient number of facts were gathered of the author of a Voyage into New England, to give some idea of the man, though but an imperfect one.

Of the childhood and youth of Christopher Levett, unfortunately no memorials have reached us, and but for his voyage to the shores of Casco bay, his very name would have been buried in oblivion.

His youth was passed in stirring times, when Briton and Spaniard were engaged in a deadly struggle for the mastery of the seas, and when all eyes were turning toward a new world in the West, just emerging from an obscurity hitherto impenetrable; a richer prize than had yet aroused to destructive activity the cupidity of the nations of Europe.

Sir Francis Drake had encompassed the world, and the marvelous story of his adventures was still fresh, quickening the aspirations of the youth of that age of poetry and romance; of measureless ambition and magnificent achievement. He was in his cradle when Drake scattered to the winds Spain's invincible armada, and his infant slumbers must have been disturbed by the joyful tumult with which the tidings of

that beneficent exploit was welcomed in the streets of his native town; and later, he must have often listened with eager ears to the adventures of Hawkins and Drake, Gilbert and Raleigh told by gossips over their ale in his father's inn.

Respecting his education, we know that he received a fair one for his time. The Levetts, as a family, favored letters. John, a nephew, was an author and friend of the famous Samuel Purchas; Christopher, himself, twice adventured authorship, and his son, Jeremy, graduated at Cambridge and became a preacher.

We may well picture him, then, trudging to school through the streets of the old town where the Levett inn stood, and follow him through the varied but familiar experiences of school life, until the time arrived for him to take up his life work; and what so attractive to the young man of the Elizabethan age, as a life of maritime adventure?

The men who commanded the admiration of the world in this age were mariners; heroes of the seas, to whom was rendered unstinted worship. No names stood higher on the roll of glory than those of Columbus and Cabot.

These great navigators were regarded almost as demigods, and there were men then living who received almost as rich a meed of reverence. No wonder, then, that Christopher Levett, when he reached a suitable age, made choice of the sea for his field of enterprise.

Unfortunately we know not with whom he served his apprenticeship, but no doubt with some of the sea-

men of the time, whose names are yet familiar. He was nearing manhood when Elizabeth ended her brave reign so wretchedly, and was succeeded by that caricature of royalty, James Stuart, whose pernicious policy caused England, who had proudly vaunted herself, to become contemptible among the nations of Europe, hitherto her inferiors in all things which constitute national greatness.

It was difficult enough in Elizabeth's reign for young men to make their way in life, so restrictive were the laws, and so numerous were court favorites, who with their monopolies blocked the course of commerce, and hampered the industries of the nation; but with James came a more rapacious horde of these creatures of royalty than had hitherto oppressed England; and to make matters worse, the avenue to military success, which had been a principal one, was suddenly closed by the new monarch, to whom everything which savored of war was odious; thus, at the period when Christopher Levett entered manhood, it had become almost impossible for any one to gain access to any avenue of success, unless through the patronage of some court favorite.

What Levett's course was at this time we know not, but later on we find him attached to Buckingham, the chief of that swarm of vampires who were then preying upon the English people.

A reaction against religious tyranny had long before begun, and as it progressed it drew to itself those opposed to oppression in every form. Those who allied themselves to this movement were of various opinions,

and the kind and degree of their opposition varied accordingly.

How far young Levett was affected by this movement, we are not informed, but we find him at the age of twenty-one intimate in the family of Robert More, rector of Guisley, a famous Puritan of his day, and hence opposed to the existing order.

It is the old story. The sturdy Puritan had a fair daughter, named after the Puritan style, Mercy, and with her Christopher fell in love, and found his affection reciprocated.

Evidently the father looked with favor upon his daughter's choice, as the young people were married in the church at Guisley before the close of the year 1608; Levett, who was of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey at York, having obtained there a license to be married in the former parish. The newly-married couple took up their residence in York, we learn from the fact that here we find recorded the baptisms of their children. The names of these, all baptized at All Saints Pavement, are Sarah, baptized September 17, 1610; Rebecca, June 28, 1612; Mary, September 7, 1613; and Jeremy in 1614.

It has been remarked that Christopher Levett had attached himself to Buckingham, which accounts for his removal from York and residence in Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, where we find him in 1618, employed in the royal forests.

In the British Museum is a book written by him and published at this time by William Jones, who, a few years later, published his voyage into New England. The title of this book is as follows:—

AN
ABSTRACT

OF
TIMBER MEASURES

wherein is contained the true content of the most timber Trees within the Realme of England, which vsually are to be bought and sold.

Drawne into abriefe method by way of Arithmeticke and, contrived with such a forme, that the most simple man in the world, if he doe but know Figures in their places, may vnder stand it, and by the due observing of it shall be made able to buy and sell with any man be he never soskillfull, without danger of being deceived.

By C.^L. of Sherburne in the Countie of Dorset, Gent.

Levett's book undoubtedly found an extensive use, as it furnished a ready means for ascertaining the contents of lumber by a method then quite new; indeed, Levett appears as a pioneer in compiling tables of measurement. This book was doubtless of benefit to the author, as it brought him to the king's attention. He was acquainted with timber, and possessed of a knowledge of ships, gained from his profession of a mariner; hence, he was well fitted for the position to which he was assigned, that of Woodward of Somersetshire. This was an office of considerable importance, as it placed the royal forests largely under the control of the incumbent.

From these forests was drawn the timber for the British navy, the right arm of English power, and owing to the ignorance or dishonesty, or both combined, of the officials who managed them, they often suffered serious spoliation.

The protection of the forests had for some time

been a subject of solicitude to those who had the welfare of the kingdom at heart, and methods for their preservation had been discussed.

The Woodward's duties were somewhat onerous. He was not only expected to protect the growing timber against trespassers, but to select and mark with the king's broad arrow trees suitable for being converted into masts for the royal navy.

Levett claimed to have performed the duty disinterestedly, and for the best interests of the realm. If he did this, he certainly accomplished what some of his predecessors failed to accomplish, if the stories told of the management of the forests were true.

In 1623, Levett, who is spoken of as one of the captains of his majesty's ships, was still a resident of Sherborne, the favorite home of Raleigh. His wife, Mercy, had died, and he had married Frances, the daughter of Oliver Lottisham Esq., of Farrington, Somersetshire, and their children were Timothy, then aged eight, and Elizabeth, aged six years. The Lottishams were an old county family of distinction, and this marriage gives us an idea of Levett's social standing.

The public interest in the new world had been aroused to a remarkable degree by the opposition which had been raised in parliament against the charter of the Council for New England, on account of the monopoly which it was attempting to exercise in accordance with the privileges which had been conferred upon it by royal charter.

A clamor was raised against the Council, the head

and front of which was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The indefatigable efforts of Gorges to open New England to colonization, aided by Captain John Smith and others who had visited the coast and returned home with some knowledge of the vast resources of the country, and especially the achievement of the brave men who had successfully established themselves at Plymouth, had, at last, awakened the English people to a partial realization of the fact that their colonial possessions in the west were important, and this tended to increase hostility to the monopolists. Within the territory of this vast monopoly, which extended from the fortieth to the forty-eighth parallel of latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it was necessary to establish some degree of governmental order.

The powers of the Council were extensive as it had ample authority to enact laws and to establish courts; in fact, to create and set in motion everything necessary to energetic rule, nor was its jurisdiction confined by territorial limits, but extended to those on the high seas, who were coming to or departing from its domain. Besides these remarkable powers, the Council could control the entire commerce of New England. No vessel engaged in commerce could enter a seaport or river, or touch at an island within the limits of the Council's charter, without incurring liability to seizure and confiscation. Nor was this enough, the captain and crew might be imprisoned and punished in any manner not contrary to the laws and statutes of England. Such powers imposed heavy responsibilities upon those who might wield them, and

it was necessary for the Council to select men of character and ability to represent it.

At this time Christopher Levett was contemplating a voyage to New England with the view of establishing a colony.

On the fifth of May, 1623, the Council for New England voted to grant him six thousand acres of land, to be selected by him, within the limits of its charter, and Levett at once set on foot measures to accomplish his purpose. A prominent feature of his plan was to erect a city within the territory controlled by him, and to christen it after his native city, York. Not only was this grateful to his pride as a citizen of the minster town, but it was expected that the novel enterprise would attract the attention of his Yorkshire friends, and enlist their interest. His first step, after securing his grant, was to get the ear of Secretary Conway, whose influence was secondary only to that of Buckingham, and in this he so far succeeded that he not only obtained from the obliging secretary his own, but also the king's endorsement of the enterprise, as we learn from a letter addressed by Conway to the lord president of York, in which he not only informed that powerful nobleman of the king's good opinion of Levett's enterprise in New England, which would confer honor upon the nation, and particularly upon the county and city of York, but that the king requested him to use his efforts with the gentlemen of the county to induce them to join Levett in his undertaking.

Although Levett had this strong endorsement, which

without doubt engaged the active efforts of Lord Scrope in his behalf, he did not succeed in getting so many of his old Yorkshire friends to join him in his promising enterprise as he had hoped to get; nevertheless, he obtained a ship and a number of men, and with them set out for New England, not long after the date of this letter.

It had been arranged that Levett was to be one of the councilors in the new government which the Council for New England contemplated setting up in their domain. The head of this government was Robert Gorges, the younger son of Sir Ferdinando, who was commissioned governor and lieutenant-general of New England. The other councilors were Captain Francis West and the governor of New Plymouth. In addition to his office of councilor, Captain West held a commission as admiral, and Captain Thomas Squibb as vice-admiral of New England. These had authority to choose such associate councilors as they might think necessary to aid them in the administration of the new government. As the church was to be erected in the wilderness, the Reverend William Morrell was charged with that important undertaking. All these men were of good character and possessed of fair ability.

In spite of the clamor which had been raised against the monopoly of Gorges and his associates, the king's sympathies were with them, and his privy council followed the views of the monopolists in shaping orders for the regulation of trade in New England. These were strict, and the admiral was directed to affix them to the mainmast of every ship bound for New England.

Christopher Levett reached the Isles of Shoals, which appear to have been his first landfall after leaving the shores of England, in the autumn of 1623, where he landed, and from there proceeded to a place now known as Odione's point, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, where David Thompson, an enterprising young man, had, a few months before settled a small colony. Here Levett found Governor Gorges and other members of the new government awaiting his arrival; and here, after Levett had received the oath of office, was formally organized the first government, *de jure* if not *de facto*, over New England. Levett was obliged to remain at Thompson's for a month, though he made good use of his time in exploring the country in the vicinity, in order to collect his men, many of whom had already found their way to New England before him, and were awaiting his arrival, probably about the mouth of the Saco and Spurwink, and perhaps at points even farther east.

The season was far advanced when his men assembled at Thompson's, and it proved to be unpropitious for exploration; but dividing his company into two parties, he coasted eastward, suffering much inconvenience from the rough weather which he encountered, as he had only open boats with which to explore the coast. His courage and cheerful disposition, however, were equal to the occasion, and defied the wild storms of sleet and snow which assailed him. After examining the region about the York river, which he found suitable for planting, he proceeded to the Kennebunk, and explored the little harbor of Cape Porpoise, which did

not impress him favorably, though he noticed good timber in the vicinity. From here he set his course for Saco, losing one of his men on the way; in what manner he does not explain, and had not proceeded far before a thick fog curtained the land from view. He was, however, wise enough before losing sight of land to take his bearings, which enabled him to keep his course correctly. The wind, which was blowing off shore, kept increasing in violence, and as night shut down upon Levett and his boat's crew, for the other boat had disappeared, their condition was perilous. This they realized and took counsel together as to the best method to adopt for their safety. The roaring of the great waves as they broke along the beaches, which here fringe the coast for a long distance, made the gloom of night, as it gathered about them, all the more terrible. It was impossible to make a landing owing to the dangerous surf, and throwing out their little anchor, Levett and his weary crew anxiously wished for the day. At dawn, "with much ado," they made a landing, and found the other boat safe. Putting up a feeble shelter against the storm with their sails, for five days they retained this place as a base from which to make their explorations. Here they found plenty of wild fowl upon which they regaled themselves, and save for the fact that they were obliged to sleep in their wet clothing, on the water-soaked and frosty ground, they were not badly off. When the storm permitted, Levett, taking with him six men, set out on foot to explore the coast, but after proceeding about two miles he found an impassable barrier to

further progress in the Saco river, which compelled him to return to camp, and finding the marsh grass sufficiently dry, he set his men gathering it for a bed, which he greatly enjoyed; or as he himself expressed it, "rested as contentedly as ever I did in all my life"; indeed, he was reminded by the comfort which the dry straw gave him, of the merry saying of a beggar, that if he were ever "a king, he would have a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and lodge every night up to the ears in dry straw," and with the abundant cheerfulness which marked his character, he kept his companions in good spirits by witty anecdotes, wholesomely spiced with piety, to the effect that they were having, even then, much greater blessings than they deserved at God's hands. The next day Levett sent one of his boats with four men to skirt the shore along the mouth of the Saco, while he with three others set off across the country on foot, with the intention of meeting the boat and crossing the river in it, but bad weather and deep snow prevented, and compelled him and his companions to sleep upon the river's bank, almost without shelter.

When morning came they crossed the Saco and explored the coast as far east as the Spurwink. Everywhere they found abundance of game, which in a measure compensated for the many deprivations which they were obliged to suffer. A primeval forest fringed the shores, from which loomed above their fellows immense pines suitable for the tallest ships which sailed the seas, and in greater profusion than Levett had ever pictured in his dreams; as he expressed it, there

was everywhere "a world of fowl and good timber." The Saco river was the strongest he had ever beheld, owing to the force of its current, which was so strong that he found the water "in the very main ocean" as fresh as from "the head of a spring." This strange river, he was told by the savages, issued from a great mountain to the west, called the Crystal Hill, so high as to be seen by mariners as far west as Cape Cod and east as Monhegan.

Old Orchard Beach, which Champlain and De Monts had visited and described, when, seventeen years before, they, like Levett, were seeking for a place where they might settle a colony, attracted his attention, but like his predecessors he did not deem it suitable for habitation; an opinion in which the many, who now so happily sojourn there, would not acquiesce. None of these places fully satisfied our explorer, and he returned to the camp where he had left a number of his men at "Saco;" not the site of the present city of that name, but nine miles below it at a place now called The Pool, where Richard Vines, the then future founder of Biddeford, had passed a winter with the natives a few years before. Here he was seized with a chill, the result of excessive toil and exposure to wet and cold, from which, however, thanks to a hardy constitution, he soon recovered. Having prepared for a more extended exploration, he set out with his entire company, and skirted the coast until he reached the islands at the mouth of Portland Harbor. These islands, now known as House, Cushing's, Peak's, and Diamond, with the harbor which they helped to form,

pleased him. The region he calls by the not euphonious name of Quack, which probably but imperfectly represents the sound in the Indian tongue.

Levett explored the harbor and rowed up Fore river, which he named Levett's river, and which, the Indians informed him, abounded with salmon in their season. Although inwardly resolving to make this the site of his future city, he wished to study the coast eastward, and pushed on past Munjoy to the mouth of the Presumpscot. This beautiful river, with the green island at its outlet, dividing its waters as they course to the sea, must have presented a striking picture to Levett as he rounded Martin's point, with its wide-spreading oaks and lofty pines sweeping to the water's edge. Pulling up toward the first fall of the Presumpscot, which he declares to be "bigger than the fall at London bridge," he soon came in sight of the home of the red men, who welcomed him with abundant hospitality, the chief sharing with him his own habitation.

This locality seems to have been a convenient rendezvous for the Indians, for while Levett sojourned with Skitterygusset, the sagamore of the Presumpscot, several chiefs from east and west gathered here in a friendly manner, bringing their families with them, and such furs as they had gathered during the winter to barter with the English. With these savages Levett soon found himself on friendly terms, and when he left the Presumpscot, Sadamoyt, the great chief of the Penobscots, in a fervor of affectionate feeling, pressed upon him a beaver skin as a token of esteem.

In spite of his predilection for Portland harbor, Levett prolonged his voyage to the vicinity of the Sagadahoc, where Gorges, always confidently hoping to retrieve the failure of his enterprise under Popham, was intending to found a "state county" and to build a city, which was to have the honor of being christened by the king.

Levett in his voyage along the shores of Maine, found numerous sites suitable for plantation, and the Indians everywhere kindly disposed toward him. His heart, however, was set on the region about Portland harbor, which his practiced eye told him was the most suitable place on the coast for a maritime city, and after a brief examination of the eastern coast he returned there, and selected the site for his prospective city of York.

Levett's probity was as marked as his sagacity, and instead of seizing upon the land by virtue of his English patent, he procured from Cogawesco, the sagamore of Casco, and his wife, permission to occupy it, recognizing them as inhabitants of the country, and as having "a natural right of inheritance therein." This is in marked contrast to most other patentees of lands in New England, and is highly to his credit. By this wise act he secured the good will of the Indians, and thereby greatly strengthened his position; indeed, he so won upon the affections of the childish and passionate natives that they strove to persuade him not to leave them, but to remain and share their rude lot.

Having secured the site for his city, Levett promptly set about erecting a habitation fortified to protect its

inmates from attack by the Indians, who thronged the bay in search of fish and game; indeed, the islands and shores of Casco bay were then as much a summer resort of the Indians as they now are for men of another race.

Having completed his building on an island at the mouth of the harbor, and placed in it ten men to hold possession, Levett bade adieu to his Indian friends, who expressed sorrow at his departure, assuring him that they should watch the sea for his return, and should welcome him and the friends whom he might bring with him to his new home.

When Levett reached England he found affairs there unfavorable for his undertaking. The patent for New England, under which he had received title, had been on trial before parliament and had been adversely passed upon as a monopoly. There was also trouble with Spain, owing to the rupture of the marriage contract between Prince Charles of England and the Princess Maria of Spain, brought about by the intrigues of Buckingham. A new danger, still greater, threatened Englishmen who had already settled in New England, or contemplated settling there, as the French monarch, whose sister, the Princess Henrietta, had taken the place of the Spanish princess in the affections of Prince Charles, laid claim to a large portion of the American continent, embracing the whole of New England.

The enthusiasts, who had founded powerful states and prosperous cities in New England with materials no more substantial than paper and ink, lost heart,

and Levett found none bold enough to join him in his enterprise. No matter how fervent his faith in the new country, its possession under a title from the Council, or even from the English crown, might be disputed. Surely, there was little to warrant men to encounter the perils with which emigration was surrounded.

Baffled in his efforts to interest others in his New England affairs, Levett now sought employment in one of the many naval expeditions fitting out for foreign service. The Count of Mansfeldt had raised a large force of Englishmen, and the fleet bearing them had sailed from Dover some weeks before Levett sighted the shores of his native land; indeed, when he arrived, news was already reaching England of the dire disasters which were befalling this ill-planned expedition, but which only served to fire the ambition of aspiring adventurers.

The Christmas of 1624 was passed by Levett in the bosom of his family at his home in Sherborne. His last Christmas had been spent on the wild shores of Maine, amid savage people, exposed to bitter blasts and restricted to meager fare; but now at home in merry old England, having safely returned from a voyage, the hardships and hazards of which were appalling to homefolk, we may well believe that he gave by his presence at the family fireside, and his stories of strange adventure, a keen zest to the joy of those who shared with him the happiness of that happiest of festal days, and that wife, children, and kinsfolk united in making the occasion as joyful as possible.

But Levett was a man who could not long remain idle, and the sounds of busy preparation, which came from every quarter, prompted him to action; therefore, while he was eating his Christmas goose and relating stories of his savage friends in Casco bay, he was thinking of a letter to be written to Secretary Coke, which, if favorably acted upon, would soon take him from his family and place him amid new perils.

This letter was written to the secretary on the day after Christmas, and began by speaking of the writer's change of heart several years before, and of the desire which was awakened in him to do something for the glory of God and the good of the church and commonwealth. Before this, Hakluyt had told of the wonderful new world peopled with degraded men, whose souls could be saved by Christian effort, and eloquent divines had repeated his words to wondering auditors. To such "reverend and worthy friends," Levett told the noble secretary, he went for counsel, and while he asserted his confidence in being able with assistance to make his New England enterprise successful, he begged for employment of some kind, though he was possessed of means sufficient for his support "in a reasonable good fashion." "He could not," he said, "exist in idleness, and in support of his case, he adduced, as usual, a quaint maxim or two: "That an idle person lieth open to all temptations; that he is a drone among bees; that he is worse than an infidel that doth not provide for himself and his family; that every man ought to eat his own bread; that he is unworthy to live in the church or commonwealth that is not bene-

ficial to both." Evidently this letter received an encouraging response, for on the twenty-sixth of the following May we find Levett writing another letter to Secretary Coke, expressing his hearty thanks to him for a proffer of employment in some service, which was to follow Buckingham's return from France, whither he had gone to bring the bride of Charles I to England, shortly after the death of James, which took place on March 27, 1625. But though grateful to the secretary for his proffer of future service, Levett chafed under enforced idleness and urgently pressed for immediate employment.

At the time Levett penned this letter, an expedition was fitting out in England in which Sir Ferdinando Gorges was to take part; and Gorges was then in London, arranging with Coke's associate, Conway, business pertaining to this expedition, which Levett probably desired to join; a desire which, perhaps, prompted his impatient appeal to Coke. Unfortunately, whatever correspondence may have passed between him and Gorges is lost; but there can be no doubt that the two were correspondents, since both were deeply interested in New England, and Gorges was the moving spirit of the corporation, which made Levett an associate of his son Robert, and conveyed to him his possessions in Casco bay.

We lose sight of Levett, however, for a brief period, but Coke, happily, proved to be his friend, and in the famous expedition against Spain, which sailed from England October 5, 1625, Levett went as the captain of the *Susan and Ellen*, a ship of the burden of three

hundred and twenty tons, and manned with a crew of sixty-five men. This fleet, under the command of Lord Wimbledon, consisted of eighty English and sixteen Dutch vessels, and was said to be the largest joint naval power which ever sailed the seas. "So large was it," says an old writer, that it "made the world abroad to stand astonished, how so huge a fleet could be so suddenly made ready;" and yet this vast fleet and an army of ten thousand men were raised and equipped, not by parliament, for that had been angrily dissolved by the king, but by writs sent by him to every one in the realm who was supposed to have money, commanding them to loan him such sums as he had been informed by his agents they were able to loan. To refuse these demands was dangerous, and money poured into the coffers of the royal blackmailers in plentiful streams.

It was in this fleet, the destination of which was kept a secret, that Levett found himself, feeling, doubtless, a glow of patriotic pride as he saw it in its grandeur, and never for a moment realizing that the motive which caused its creation was private revenge, and the methods by which it was created were subversive of those liberties which he, in common with all Englishmen, cherished most deeply in his heart.

As the fleet entered the Bay of Biscay it encountered the usual storms, and was buffeted by wind and wave until it seemed to those on board that their end was near; and so it was to some, for one tall ship, bearing nearly two hundred men, plunged beneath the sea and was seen no more. Wimbledon had been given orders before leaving home to intercept the Spanish plate

fleet, then nearing Spain, burdened with treasure, but he was no Drake, and he permitted several large ships to pass him and enter the Bay of Cadiz, where they afterward wrought serious injury to his fleet. Time was wasted in councils of war; the Spanish got news of his approach and prepared to receive him; but instead of making a naval attack upon the Spanish shipping at Cadiz, which it was believed would have resulted in success, Wimbledon landed a force and attacked the fort of Puntal, which he captured; but his men now found a foe more dangerous than the Spaniards. The cellars were filled with wine, which the soldiers fell upon and drank to excess. Wimbledon, alarmed at the condition of his men, who were in no condition to resist an attack, hastily gathered as many as he could and carried them back to the ships. Those left behind were butchered by the revengeful Spaniards. The unfortunate commander now abandoned his designs on Cadiz and lay off shore watching for the treasure fleet, but sickness assailed his crowded ships and his men died by scores. Thoroughly disheartened, Wimbledon gave orders to return to England, "which was done in a confused manner and without any observance of sea orders."

It is, perhaps, proper to say that the plate fleet passed the place where the English ships had been cruising a few days before, and sailed quietly into Cadiz, while Wimbledon with his fleet, which had sailed proudly away a few weeks before, now shattered, and burdened with sick and dying men, entered Plymouth harbor, where he was received with the contempt which he so well deserved.

It has been thought proper to give an account of this unfortunate expedition in which Levett took part, as it opens a scene in the life of a man identified with our early history, and of whom, at best, we may catch but brief glimpses amid the changing shadows of the past.

On his arrival at Plymouth, Levett, who had evidently suffered from having a clumsy and uncomfortable ship, urgently sought to be transferred to the Great Neptune, belonging to Gorges. He bitterly complained of the Susan and Ellen, although she sailed the seas for many years after, and safely brought across the Atlantic some of the founders of New England, while the Great Neptune, which he longed to command, and which had been built by Gorges in the most careful manner to transport his colonists to his Province of Maine, never fulfilled the great purpose for which she was designed, and brought her owner but trouble and loss.

The letter of January 11 was followed by an interesting account of what Levett had observed on the expedition just described, and was doubtless written at the suggestion of Secretary Coke, who, learning that Levett wielded a ready pen, deemed it wise to make use of it in obtaining the impressions of an actor in the affair who would have no great reason to falsify.

But Levett was not contented with giving an account of the expedition. His real interest was in New England, and here was an opportunity to reach the ear of the astute secretary, so he closed his relation with a few practical suggestions how England could weaken

her dread enemy, Spain, and pointed out the part New England could be made to play in the undertaking.

The first thing was to cease trade with Spain altogether, and then to employ the navy in cutting off her trade with her northern neighbors. This done, he would fortify the fishing-places in New England, a country capable of being made more profitable than the West Indies, for her fisheries alone were richer than the mines of other countries, all of which could be done at the cost of a single subsidy, for which England would secure an annual profit sufficient, after a few years, to maintain an army or fleet, or support the poor, if any able-bodied poor could be found in the realm, which would be doubtful, since so many would be attracted to New England by the great opportunities for gaining wealth, which that country would afford, that in a score of years the country would be cleared of needy persons. Beside this, New England would be able to furnish a ship of five hundred tons' burden a year, which would work more damage to Spain and her West India possessions than all England possibly could, since New England lay in the wake of Spain by her ordinary course of trade to the straits. In proof of this Levett desired to be heard at the council table.

We know not the reply of the secretary to Levett, if one was made; but certainly his prayer for another ship was unheeded, for soon after he applied for a ship to Nicholas, the servile tool of Buckingham, with whom it appears he was in correspondence, and who was drawing from him a portion of his earnings, for

so corrupt were the times, that no man could hold place under government without sharing the emoluments of his office with some parasite of the court. Strangely enough the stream of time, which has engulfed so many valuable records, has brought to us this insignificant waif, for Nicholas preserved it, and doubtless placed it in his master's hand to aid his correspondent. In this letter Levett not only referred to former "presents" made Nicholas when he drew his pay, but promised to allow him one-half of the pay he would receive as commander of the ship in which he might be placed by the efforts of Nicholas.

When this letter was received, Buckingham was in no mood to give it attention, for he was before parliament defending himself against charges of wrongdoing too strong to be readily thrust aside even by him, with the king's power behind him; and we find Levett in a few weeks again appealing to Coke from Stoke's bay, on board the Susan and Ellen. His fellow captains, equally anxious with himself for employment, had gone to London upon a rumor which had reached them of another expedition fitting out for foreign service, and as he was acting with Pennington, one of Buckingham's most useful tools in the disgraceful plot against the Protestants of Rochelle, already spoken of, he was unable to leave his post in the absence of his associate, to make a personal appeal to the secretary.

Although active in seeking employment, Levett had not forgotten his plantation in New England. What had become of his fortified house on the island at the

mouth of Portland harbor, and the men left in charge of it we know not. His Indian friends had long watched the sea in vain for the coming of "poor Levett," as they affectionately styled him. Levett's plan, as presented to Secretary Coke in his "Relation," was carefully formulated and laid before the king, probably through the agency of Nicholas and Buckingham, for but little could reach the royal eye without the latter's agency. But Levett well knew the importance of able advocates, and Coke was a friend, who already knew something of his plans, and he again addressed him on the subject nearest his heart.

He was wearied with the petty jealousies and strifes of the narrow world about him, and longed like many others for the far-off new world, with its free air, and blue sky, and limitless stretches of forest, mountain and plain across the great ocean, inaccessible to the pettiness and vanity, which reigned wherever the influence of the court extended, making life irksome to manly hearts.

"There is no man," said Levett, "who knows better than myself what benefit would accrue unto this kingdom by New England, if it were well planted and fortified." But although he was in a fair way to achieve his purpose, he needed the assistance, which Coke could easily afford him by supporting his petition to the king. If he would not do this, Levett begged him to put him into a good ship that he might do the king service and no longer remain idle.

For nearly a year we lose sight of Levett amid the confusion which everywhere prevailed. The queen's

Roman Catholic household was broken up by the king, who could no longer tolerate the idle and overbearing priests, who had her spiritual welfare in their keeping, and the dissolute and supercilious crew, who danced attendance upon her, and they were all packed off to Paris with much useless paraphernalia. This done, the king and Buckingham set their wits to work to devise some method to get the people, who were becoming dangerously clamorous, into better humor. One of their acts had been especially censured, namely, the attempt to force English Protestants to destroy their French brothers of Rochelle, and it was thought that by fitting out an expedition to support them against the king's brother-in-law of France, the popular mind would be turned in their favor.

It was an artful scheme, and Buckingham bent all his energies to put it into execution. A fleet of seventy-six vessels was gathered, and sailed with a great show of piety, in the early summer of 1627, but when it appeared before Rochelle, so much was the English king and Buckingham distrusted, that the people of that unhappy city refused to permit it to enter their harbor, hence Buckingham turned away, and falling upon the Isle of Rhé laid siege to the castle of St. Martin. After vain attempts to capture this formidable fortress, he was obliged to abandon it with the loss of a large portion of his army, and to return to England to face greater unpopularity than ever.

We can hardly understand why Levett was not with Buckingham on this expedition, but we know that he was in England awaiting some response to his petition,

and probably making constant efforts to draw support to it; indeed, we find him writing to Coke shortly before the return of Buckingham's ill-starred expedition, inclosing a letter from "a servant in New England," probably one of the men left by him to keep his house in Casco bay.

Chafing under disappointments, Levett forcibly expressed his regret that the king should permit such a country to fall into the hands of an enemy, who would by its possession be as well provided for building and furnishing ships as any prince in the world; and he assured the secretary that if the king and council should think it worth preserving, he could as well undertake its fortification as any one of the king's subjects. "I beseech your honor" he said, "let not the multiplicity of weighty and chargeable affairs which are now in hand, cause this to be neglected," for if this should be done, "much damage and dishonor must certainly ensue;" and he closed by expressing his readiness to attend, upon notice, an audience in London.

Buckingham, returning from his failure at Rhé, landed at Plymouth and proceeded at once to London, passing through Sherborne where Levett saw him, and, in spite of his pre-occupation, managed to get his ear, and speak a few words in behalf of the New England project. This he immediately communicated to Coke, and informed him that the great man desired one of his gentlemen to call his attention to the subject when he reached town. Levett also inclosed a plan setting forth his views relative to New England,

and pressed the secretary to examine it. If desired, he would visit London, but if nothing was done, he declared that he should be forced to give orders to those in his employ, who were engaged in fishing in New England, to return home. It is pleasing to find that Levett's persistence at last bore fruit. His project was brought before the king and council, probably explained by himself in person, for we find, shortly after this last letter to Coke, an extraordinary proclamation issued by the king, directed to the ecclesiastical authorities, requiring the churches of the realm to take up a contribution in behalf of the colonial enterprise in Casco bay. That such a contribution should have been ordered by the king, and sanctioned by the privy council is remarkable. This unique instrument sets forth important facts in Levett's scheme. We are informed by the king that colonial enterprises in New England having been interrupted by his difficulties with France and Spain, it had become necessary, in order to secure English interests there to render assistance to those who had entered upon such enterprises; and that as his "well beloved subject," Captain Christopher Levett was willing to risk to the utmost both life and estate, in order to establish a colony in New England, and was well acquainted with the Indians, he had thought best not only to make him governor of New England, but to order churchmen to contribute means to aid him in his undertaking, the success of which would strengthen the kingdom, and enable the poor and ignorant savages to acquire a knowledge of the true faith—a work which especially commended itself to the king's affection.

The contribution in the churches was taken up as directed by royal authority, and the proceeds paid to Levett; but what the amount was is not recorded, nor do we know what steps Levett took towards ultimating his plans. It is probable that the contributions were insufficient to afford him the necessary equipment; indeed, the low ebb to which the finances of the people had been reduced by misgovernment, the unpopularity of the king and his chief adviser, and the shadowy nature of the enterprise which the people were called upon to assist, were such as to afford uncertain ground upon which Levett could reasonably build his hopes. He, however, prepared an extended account of his explorations and experiences in New England, which was printed by William Jones, who had printed his book on Timber Measures. This book, which will always possess a deep interest for the historical student, was published in 1628. On April nineteenth of this year, we find Levett before parliament with a petition respecting the two bridges leading into Doncaster, a town on the river Don, about thirty miles southwest from the city of York. These bridges were called the Friar's bridge, then comparatively new, having been carried away by a flood in 1614 and shortly after rebuilt; and St. Mary's bridge, now known as the Mill bridge, and furnished an important entrance to the town.

Among his many grants of privileges, King James, in 1605, granted a patent to William, the uncle of Christopher Levett, to collect tolls at these bridges; but for some reason, the patent lay dormant until 1618, when Levett began to enforce his rights.

So far as we can learn Levett continued to collect tolls until 1628, when the clamor against monopolies reached the little town of Doncaster, and its citizens suddenly awoke to the fact that they had a monopoly in their midst, and they at once declared it a grievance.

It would seem that Christopher Levett had some interest in the patent of his uncle, hence his petition to parliament, which, however was not retained, parliament being then in no mood to favor anything which savored of monopoly; but a few weeks later a petition against the objectionable patent was considered, and soon after it was declared to be "a grievance to the subjects, both in the creation and execution," and the good people of Doncaster, without doubt greatly to their satisfaction, were able to cross their bridges free of toll.

On the twenty-third of August, Buckingham was stricken down by the knife of an assassin, and the king found himself in too perilous straits to help any subject, however "well beloved." It was a season of terrible agitation, and yet we may believe that Levett, in spite of it all, was busy with his scheme of settlement in New England, whither so many anxious minds were turning, though we may not be able to distinguish clearly amidst the turmoil and confusion, the man who could entertain his companions in suffering with merry old sayings, while enduring the rigors of a New England winter without roof, bed or board.

We may believe this, because amid the confusion which reigned in New England during this entire year, we know that plans were elaborated for a colony on

the shores of Massachusetts bay, and John Endicott, with a band of hardy men, holding a patent from the Council for New England, crossed the Atlantic and laid the foundations of Salem.

Just what interest Levett had in this undertaking we may never know, yet when Winthrop cast anchor in Salem harbor on that ever memorable twelfth of June, 1630, he records that "Mr. Pierce came aboard us and returned to fetch Mr. Endicott, who came to us about two of the clock, and with him Mr. Skelton and Captain Levett." We may well inquire how Christopher Levett came to be at Salem at this time. His interest in New England was certainly such as to bring him naturally into relations with others possessing similar interest; beside, the wide publicity which the king's proclamation gave him, followed by the publication of his book—acts which may have directed the thoughts of Endicott and his associates New Englandward—must have emphasized the importance of Levett's counsel to those who contemplated emigration to a land, which to most was a *terra incognita*, but with which he was well acquainted. It is not strange, then, that Christopher Levett was one of the first to greet Winthrop upon his arrival in New England. He must, however, already have disposed of his patent in Casco bay, which, we know, passed into the possession of Plymouth merchants.

When Winthrop met Levett at Salem, he was there in command of a ship, and he must have sailed shortly after for England, bearing letters from Winthrop's company to their friends at home. Levett, however,

was not again to behold the green shores of Old England. On the voyage home he died, and instead of reposing with his kindred in Yorkshire, he found burial in the great ocean, which has entombed so many brave adventurers.

The letters which he was taking home from Winthrop's colony never reached their destination. By some means they fell into the hands of their enemies, Morton, Gardner and others, and when these men petitioned the Privy Council, on December 19, 1632, to inquire into the methods by which the charter of the colonists from the king was procured, and the abuses practiced under it, some of these letters, which contained indiscreet references to the church government in England, were brought into requisition to sustain the action of the petitioners.

On the twenty-second of the January following our last unsatisfactory glimpse of Christopher Levett at Salem, his widow made a sad journey from Sherborne to Bristol where his ship had brought his personal effects.

A few brief lines in the Probate records of the home of Cabot, furnish us with the last vestige of the author of *A Voyage into New England*, and the first English owner of the soil upon which now stands the city of Portland.





THREE SUGGESTIVE MAPS.

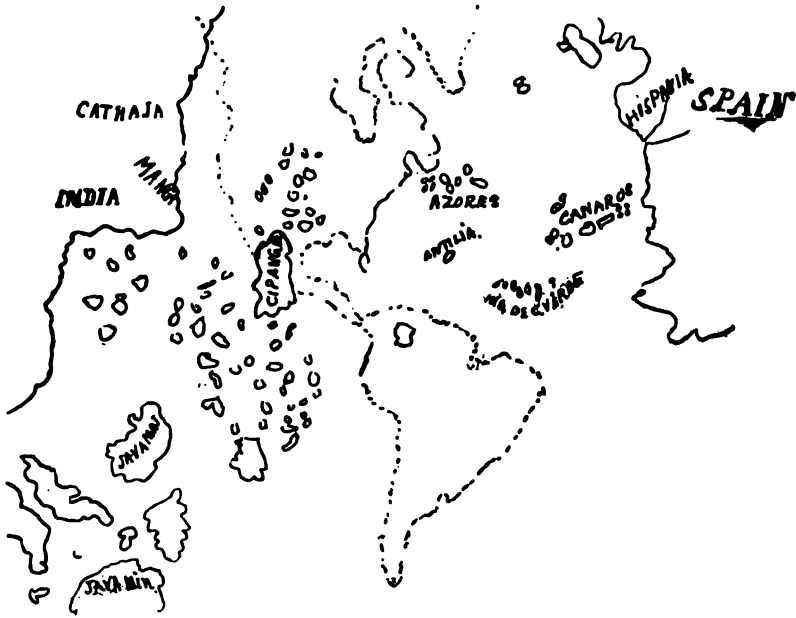
THREE SUGGESTIVE MAPS.

BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 20, 1892.

It has been thought fitting that this Society should commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, and for this purpose we have gathered here to-night. Four hundred years ago at this time, the little ship which bore the immortal discoverer, Christopher Columbus, was nearing the shores of San Salvador, the discovery of which was soon to lead to the discovery and colonization of this great continent.

The idea that land existed in the western ocean was not original with Columbus. More than sixteen centuries before the great discoverer presented himself, a beggar, at the convent of Santa Maria, and imparted his theories to the good prior of Rabida, Erasthomenes, assuming the sphericity of the earth, had promulgated it; indeed, he had nearly calculated the size of the globe, and it was held that if "it were not that the vast extent of the Atlantic sea rendered it impossible, one might even sail from the coast of Spain to that of India along the same parallel;" beside, Martin Behaim, a friend of Columbus, adopting the theory, then generally accepted by geographers, had constructed a globe, showing across the Atlantic the east-

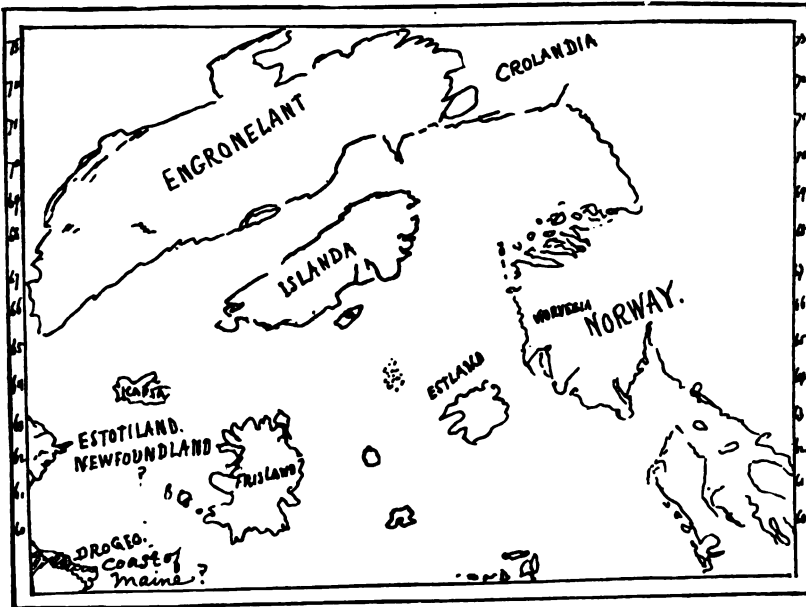


Section of Martin Behaim's Globe, made before the sailing of Columbus. The dotted lines show the outlines of the American Continent not then discovered, nor supposed to lie between Spain and India.

ern coast of the Asiatic continent. What was not known was the existence of the American continent, between the eastern and western shores of the then known world.

This section of Behaim's globe shows how near the truth he was. Nor was Behaim by any means singular in his belief. It had long been that of geographers, and the wonder is that its truth had not been earlier established by ambitious navigators. Undoubtedly the American continent had been visited long before the time of Columbus, notably by Scandinavians, and by the brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, and it is strongly claimed that Columbus not only had visited Norway, and heard the stories of Scandinavian discov-

ery in the Western ocean, but had seen that remarkable map, which in his day was hanging in the Zeno palace in Venice. This map, the puzzle of geographers, and which has caused more discussion than any map ever before discovered, shows, without doubt, the eastern coast of the American continent, as well as Greenland and some of the neighboring islands.



Map of Antonio and Nicholo Zeno, A. D., 1380.

But it was reserved for Columbus to bring the western continent to the attention of Europe, and to him should the honor of so doing be awarded.

That he had not the honor of having his name bestowed upon the New World has been deplored by his admirers; yet, as the first discoverer of the northern continent, Cabot's claim is the better, and that great

navigator's biographer argues with much force that it should have been named Cabotia, and the southern Columbia.

It seems a strange chance that affixed to the New World the name America, and here another map plays an important part. In 1504, Americus Vesputius, an Italian navigator, who became acquainted with Columbus after the latter's return from his great discovery, and was led to undertake a voyage across the western ocean, wrote to one of the Medici an account of a voyage made by him in the service of the king of Portugal to Brazil. This account fell into the hands of Martin Waldseemüller, a schoolman of St. Dié, in Lorraine, who translated it into Latin, and published it in 1507. In this book appeared this simple suggestion, which caused the New World to receive the name America: "But now that these parts have been more widely explored, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vesputius (as will be seen hereafter), I do not see why we may justly refuse to name it America, namely, the land of Americus or America, after its discoverer Americus."

This suggestion bore fruit, and on a map published in 1509, two years after the publication of Waldseemüller's book, appeared the name America, near that part of the southern continent supposed to have been visited by Vesputius.

If the name America had been permitted to remain where the map maker, following the suggestion of Waldseemüller, had placed it, the friends of Columbus would have had small cause of complaint; but in 1541,



Part of Mercator's Globe of 1541, upon which the name of America appears for the first time attached to the Northern Continent.

Mercator printed his gores for a globe, upon which was delineated the northern continent as well as the southern. Without any reason, nay, apparently by mere caprice, a portion of the name America was printed on the northern, and a portion on the southern continent, and the mischief was accomplished. Says Humboldt truthfully, "It was accident and not fraud and dissensions, which deprived the continent of America of the name of Columbus."

But it has been suggested, with considerable plausibility, that in this labyrinth of errors Waldseemüller was himself the victim of a blunder, and that owing to a similarity of sound, he confounded the native name of the region visited by his hero, namely Amaracapanna or Amaraca land, with that of Americus, and believing that it had already popularly received the name of its supposed discoverer, he simply put himself on record as recognizing its propriety.

We can but regard it as a curious coincidence, that the native name of this portion of the southern continent so closely resembles in sound that of Americus, or Amerigo, yet such appears to be the fact. But whether it is or is not true, that Waldseemüller was innocently misled, the world will ever regret that the southern continent, at least, was not named for the great Genoese navigator.

CITY OF PORTLAND.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

Hon. James P. Baxter, Mayor

APRIL 24th, 1893.

CITY OF PORTLAND.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

Hon. Jas. P. Baxter, Mayor,

APRIL 24, 1893.



PORTLAND, ME.:
WILLIAM M. MARKS, PRINTER.
1893.

MAYOR'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the City Council :—

In accordance with laws wisely framed for the maintenance of public order, we have been selected by our fellow citizens to administer the fiscal and prudential affairs of this municipality for the ensuing year, and to secure to it good government.

To be selected from so large a body of citizens eligible to office by virtue of possessing the right of franchise, that peculiar privilege of American citizenship, is an especial honor, since it is not only a mark of confidence in our fitness for the places to which we have been selected, but of trust in our integrity, and we should be unworthy of that confidence and trust, did we fail in the slightest degree to faithfully administer the important interests deposited in our keeping.

If our fellow citizens have thoughtfully and deliberately elected us to office, and if we faithfully and wisely perform the duties pertaining to official position, the essential purpose of our unique system of popular government will have been secured.

As to the first of these propositions, it is no mere sentimental assumption of ethical virtue to assert, that defeat by thinking ballots is better than victory by unthinking ones; and as to the other, that the man is base indeed, who can regard public office otherwise than a public trust.

Assuming then that we have been thoughtfully elected to office, and that we are resolved to faithfully perform our duties, I would emphasize the necessity of co-operation in all things calculated to promote the common good. We are no longer members of opposing political parties, but public servants, having properly only the public welfare to serve, and I shall rely upon you, and you shall rely upon me, to support all just and wise measures, which may come before us, without regard to political effect. Without such co-operation, we shall none of us look back with satisfaction upon the achievements of the year.

To you, my predecessor in office, in assuming the position which you have filled with so much grace and dignity, permit me to extend my acknowledgments for your unvarying kindness and good will.

FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CITY.

The first matter of interest to which I shall call your attention is the financial condition of our city. By the subjoined report marked "A," you will observe that the total bonded debt of the city on March 1st, last, was \$2,811,750 and that the city possesses available assets as follows:

23,561 1-10 shares of the stock of the Portland & Ogdensburg Railroad which valued at \$50 per share would amount to	\$1,178,055.00
1700 shares of the stock of the Portland Gas Light Company, which at \$85 per share would amount to	144,500.00
Add to this Mortgage Notes owned by the city, and Trust Funds on which the city pays interest only,	43,199.00
and we have a total of available assets amounting to	1,365,754.00

Two years ago, the Hon. George W. True recommended in his inaugural address, that the ordinance relating to the Sinking Fund should be so amended, that these stocks and securities could be placed to the credit of the Committee on Reduction of the City Debt, and I renew his recommendation, changing the valuation to more nearly conform to their present value. If this recommendation receives your favorable action, the net debt of the city will be reduced to \$1,445,996, which will enable us to borrow money of institutions, which are prevented from investing in bonds of cities, whose debt exceeds five per cent of their valuation, upon more favorable terms than we now secure.

It is certainly gratifying to observe how rapidly the debt of the city has been reduced since 1877. Our gross debt was then \$6,050,200. To-day it is \$2,811,750, showing a reduction of \$3,238,450 or considerably more than one half.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

Public Education is the vitalizing element, which nourishes civil liberty, and quickens the pulse of enterprise. If this fails, all fails, and the claim of American citizenship becomes an idle boast; hence, we must welcome and adopt all wise measures to promote its efficiency.

To say that our educational system is not yet perfect, is not passing upon it an unfriendly criticism. So far as they go our public schools have accomplished for the people a great work, greater indeed than we are apt to realize; but the present system of education is fitting our youth to enter upon business and professional, rather than upon industrial careers; hence I believe that its scope should be enlarged, so as to embrace manual training. The problem is not a novel or difficult one to solve. Its solution has already been practi-

cally accomplished in Boston and in other cities, where the great value of manual training can be tested by all who will take the trouble of studying it.

Time will not permit an exposition of the details of this important branch of public education. It is sufficient to say, that it not only ennobles labor and breaks down those artificial barriers which interfere with social equality, by closely associating in a common pursuit the children of the poor and wealthy; but it enables its beneficiaries to set foot in the industrial world, sufficiently equipped to enter upon careers of usefulness to themselves and others. It is my hope that during the year before us, thoughtful attention may be given to this important subject. I am, however, aware that the financial demands, which will be made upon the treasury for educational and other purposes, will be so large, that it may be deemed unwise to appropriate the funds necessary to make a practical experiment of manual education. I am, however, so fully persuaded of its great usefulness to the community, that I shall place my salary for the year at the disposal of the school board to be used in such an experiment, if they deem it wise to attempt it.

For a number of years, our citizens have been agitated by the reports of the unhealthy condition of our High School. These reports have hardly been exaggerated, and I believe the time has come when prompt action is necessary. The demand seems to be general, that we must have a new school building, or practically such; and that it must be constructed in a manner to secure the best sanitary results. An appropriation of \$75,000 will be asked for this purpose, which added to the amounts required for salaries and ordinary expenditures, make a total of \$196,730. This important subject will require prompt action.

EVENING SCHOOLS.

I should be remiss in my duty, if I failed to call your attention to our evening schools, of which Mr. Levi Turner, Jr. is principal, and Mr. Barton, Mr. Gately and Miss Beck, assistants.

These schools are doing a most useful work, by teaching the illiterate the common rudiments of education. In the principal school in the City Building, boys and men, ranging from thirteen to fifty years of age gather nightly during the school term, to the number of nearly a hundred, where they are taught, not only to read, write and spell, but some of the higher branches of education.

So earnest are these people in their work, that the principal reports, that "there is no necessity for anything like formal discipline." Besides this school, there is another for young women in the Casco Street school-house, where over fifty have been registered the past winter. The importance of these schools for a considerable number of our citizens is apparent.

In this connection, I should call your attention to the Public Library. The city has recently acquired by exchange of the hall in the second story of the library building, the large room occupied by the Maine Historical Society. This room is to be devoted to reference books, which will be of great assistance to our citizens, but especially to our public schools. The library now contains 37,607 volumes and the average number of books withdrawn daily is 296 volumes. The number of volumes delivered for home use during the year is 89,335. The usefulness of the library is constantly increasing by additions of valuable works, and the trustees will spare no efforts to make it what its name implies, a Public Library, free for all citizens.

LIQUOR AGENCY.

A question which has agitated the public mind in the past, more perhaps than any other, is the liquor agency. My predecessor in office stated in his inaugural last year the exact purpose for which the agency was established; namely, to supply liquors to citizens for "medicinal, mechanical, and manufacturing purposes only;" and he called attention to the fact, that under the previous administration, the sales of the agency for the year amounted to the considerable sum of \$58,551.50, which, to use his own words "seems to suggest an enquiry whether the privileges of the agency are not abused". The sales the past year have amounted to the large sum of \$76,410.62. By comparing these figures with the sales of 1890, which during that year amounted to \$23,753.33, you will observe that the business of the agency since that time, has increased nearly three-fold, a showing most satisfactory to our citizens, if they desire the traffic in intoxicating liquors to be enlarged for the purpose of pecuniary profit; but I am quite sure that they do not desire this. On the contrary, I am of the opinion that they would have the business of the agency confined to supplying liquors of the purest quality for "medicinal, mechanical and manufacturing purposes, and no other," as the law creating the agency plainly prescribes, and I adopt and repeat the very pertinent inquiry of my predecessor, "whether the privileges of the agency are not abused." Attention is asked to the account of the Agent marked "B."

CIVIL ENGINEER AND STREET COMMISSIONER.

The consolidation of the offices of City Engineer and Street Commissioner, has been a subject much discussed during the past year or two. The project was introduced in the Com-

mon Council in 1890, by John Calvin Stevens, Councilman from ward seven; and our late efficient City Engineer, E. C. Jordan gave it careful consideration during his term of office. By the estimates of his associate and successor, Mr. G. N. Fernald, who from the first has been deeply interested in the project, it would appear that an important saving to the city can be affected; hence I trust that you will give this important subject due consideration.

I wish also to call your attention to the necessity of providing the engineer's office with a fire proof vault, for the safe storage of valuable plans belonging to that department. The value of these plans can hardly be estimated. If lost they could never be reproduced, and I cannot too strongly urge upon you prompt action in this matter.

I am informed by the City Engineer, that he will require for sewer work during the year, \$34,170, a sum somewhat larger than usual. The items you will notice in his report marked "C."

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

The Police Department is one of the most important in the city. Its duties require men of the highest character and efficiency. Upon them largely depends the preservation of public order, and their services merit recognition.

To promote the efficiency of the department, however, a wise system of discipline should be constantly maintained, and excellence in all those qualities which make a good officer encouraged. I believe that the efficiency of the service could be advanced by a system of promotion for meritorious conduct, by which men in the ranks could have before them the prospect of ultimately reaching the marshalship. The tenure of this office, however, is so uncertain as to render it somewhat undesirable to men in the ranks. Could it be retained for a

fixed term of years, the case would be different. By the present law a policeman, unless removed for wrong doing, may hold his position until sixty-five years of age. This militates against the efficiency of the force, and I trust that some change may be made in the law, so that hereafter, when men are appointed, it may be for a term not exceeding four years. They should, however, at the end of this term of service, be eligible for re-appointment.

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

No less important is the Fire Department, nor do its duties require men of less character and ability. Portland has always been proud of her firemen, by whose bravery and vigilance the property of her citizens has so often been rescued from destruction. These faithful men demand our gratitude and support, and we should keep their welfare constantly in view.

THE PORTLAND WATER AND GAS CO.

During the administration of Mayor Melcher, who took a lively interest in securing for our citizens lower water rates, this important question, by mutual consent, alike honorable to both parties, was referred to a commission consisting of Chief Justice Peters and Judge Foster. The result has been eminently satisfactory to our citizens, and all questions between the City and Water Company have been happily settled, except that relating to the contract of 1887.

An order was passed a short time since in the Board of Aldermen, to submit this matter to the decision of the Supreme Court in the following terms:

"CITY OF PORTLAND.

IN BOARD OF MAYOR AND ALDERMEN, PORTLAND,
FEBRUARY 6, 1893.

Ordered: That the proposition of the Portland Water Company, submitted at this meeting for a reference of pending questions to the next law term of the Supreme Court for decision, be and the same is hereby accepted, and that upon payment by the Water Company of the taxes now due, the City Solicitor be, and is hereby directed, to take all such legal steps as may be necessary and proper for carrying the same into effect."

This order was, however, subsequently laid upon the table. I trust that steps may be taken to have the matter so adjusted as to subserve the best interests of the city. Our citizens also demand a reduction in the price of gas, and I believe that an amicable arrangement can be made with the Gas Company, whereby this desirable end can be accomplished.

OUR SUMMER VISITORS.

During the coming summer we shall doubtless have a larger number of visitors to our city than usual. The advantages of Casco Bay as a summer resort, though well understood by our own people, have never been sufficiently made known to the outside world. I would recommend the appointment of a Special Committee to act in concert with a Committee of the Board of Trade, to extend proper civilities to visitors, and to judiciously advertise the attractions of our summer surroundings.

EVERGREEN CEMETERY AND OUR PARKS.

The Trustees of Evergreen Cemetery will require an appropriation, as usual, for the maintenance and improvement of this favorite burial place. So likewise our Park Commissioners, who have wisely and faithfully performed

their work, will call upon us for funds to preserve what they have already done, and to make farther improvements to our Parks, which have already become necessary to the comfort and enjoyment of our citizens. I am sure that their requirements which are always reasonable, will receive friendly consideration.

DEPARTMENT REPORTS.

In conclusion, I would call your attention to the various department reports. With your friendly co-operation, I shall hope that the business of the city will not be permitted to get behind, but that everything will be promptly considered and acted upon. It is my purpose, and I am quite as certain that it is your purpose, to make this a business administration. By performing our duties to the best of our several abilities, we shall be able to meet with equanimity whatever criticism may be directed against us.

EXHIBIT A.

PORTLAND, April 19th, 1898.

STATEMENT OF THE CITY DEBT.

The municipal debt March 31, 1892, was		
Coupon and Registered Bonds, 6's,	- -	\$401,000.00
Coupon and Registered Bonds, 4's,	- -	807,000.00
Trust funds, \$13,000, 6's and \$250, 4's,	-	13,250.00
Total,	- - - - -	\$1,221,250.00
Less paid and cancelled since March 31, 1892,		100,500.00
		<u>\$1,120,750.00</u>
Amount of funding bonds issued Mar. 1,		
1893, 4's, on 20 years, under order of		
City Council, Feb. 16, 1893,	- -	\$ 75,000.00
Bonds in aid of Portland & Ogdensburg		
Railroad, original issue \$1,350,000.		
Due Sept. 1, 1907,	- - - -	1,200,000.00
Bonds in aid of Portland & Rochester		
Railroad, original issue \$1,150,000.		
Due July 1, 1897,	- - - -	416,000.00
Total bonded debt, Mar. 1, 1893,	-	<u>\$2,811,750.00</u>

AVAILABLE ASSETS.

Balance to the credit of Committee	
on reduction of city debt,	\$48,773.70
Balance due from Building Loan	
Commissioners, - - -	32,161.63
1,700 shares gas stock at par, notes	
receivable, and trust funds on	
which the city pays interest	
only, - - - -	100,099.07
	<u>\$181,034.40</u>
Net debt, March 31, 1893,	<u>\$2,630,715.60</u>

The city has 23,561 1-10 shares Portland & Ogdensburg Railroad Stock on which the city receives two per cent. per annum in dividends, payable quarterly from the Maine Central Railroad. These dividends are credited to interest and estimated as income.

The gross debt of the city has been reduced the past year \$100,500 and the net debt \$54,756.

The gross city debt March 31, 1877, was	\$6,050,200.00
The gross city debt March 31, 1893, was	<u>2,811,750.00</u>
Reduction in sixteen years,	\$3,238,450.00

EXHIBIT B.

THE LIQUOR AGENCY.

I am informed that the sales at the Liquor Agency for the past municipal year is \$76,410.62.

The Liquor Agency account Mar. 31, 1893, is as follows, viz :

Balance to the credit of agency Mar. 31, 1892,	\$ 8,437.71
Received during past year, - - - -	<u>76,410.62</u>
Total, - - - - - - -	\$84,848.33
Payment for stock, salaries and expenses, - - - -	\$67,090.57
Payment for police signals, - -	4,360.00
“ “ deer paddocks in the Oaks,	505.31
“ “ quarantine station,	5,761.06
“ “ evening schools, - -	659.93
“ “ West School, - -	<u>3,000.00</u>
	\$81,376.87
Balance to the credit of the Agency Mar. 31, '93,	<u>\$3,471.46</u>

EXHIBIT C.

The amount of appropriation required for sewer work for 1893 may be stated as follows :

Regular sewer expenses,	- - - - -	\$8,470.00
Mill Pond sewer extension,	- - - - -	3,200.00
Almshouse Valley sewer,	- - - - -	9,500.00
Commercial St. sewer, extension to Hampshire St.,		10,000.00
Commercial St. sewer, extension to Maple St.,		5,500.00
		<hr/>
		\$36,670.00
Less estimated income from sewer assessments,		2,500.00
		<hr/>
		\$34,170.00

From this amount should also be deducted a portion of the cost of the Mill Pond sewer, which should be paid by the property owners.

These estimates are based on contract work. For work done by day labor from 15 to 20 per cent. should be added.

RALEIGH'S LOST COLONY.

By James Phinney Baxter.

The illustrations accompanying this article are chiefly from drawings made in Virginia 1585 by John White, who was sent to the colony by Sir Walter Raleigh for that purpose.



MODE OF CARRYING
CHILDREN.

THE first efforts at the colonization of Virginia furnish one of the most romantic pages of American history, though tinged with a pathos which in a measure subdues every emotion but that of sympathy. The most interesting in many respects, and one which appeals most strongly to one's feelings, is the effort to plant the colony of Roanoke by Sir Walter Raleigh in the year 1587, which colony strangely disappeared from human knowledge, leaving the world to strive vainly until now to penetrate the

mystery of its fate. Before entering, however, upon the story of Raleigh's lost colony, which has been fitly denominated the tragedy of American colonization, we will briefly review the preceding efforts at colonization made by the unfortunate but noble Raleigh.

After the heroic death of his step-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with whom he had been associated, Sir Walter applied to the Queen for a reissue to himself of his step-brother's charter. The request of the favorite was granted, and a charter especially designed to encourage colonization was, on March 25, 1584, bestowed upon him. By this charter Sir Walter was empowered to plant colonies within its limits upon any land not already in

the possession of any Christian prince or people, and his colonists were guaranteed the enjoyment of all the privileges possessed by Englishmen at home.

Florida was claimed by the Spaniard but north of this favored region lay a vast unexplored territory, to which Raleigh, on the twenty-seventh of April following the date of his charter, despatched two vessels with the design of there planting a colony. These vessels were under the command of Phillip Amadas and Arthur Barlow. On the tenth of May they reached the Canaries, and a month later were off the West Indies, where many of the men fell sick owing probably to the close confinement and extreme heat to which they were subjected. On the second of July, the voyagers were regaled by odors so sweet that they seemed to be "in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." This betokened the proximity of land, and two days later land was reached. Skirting the coast northward, the voyagers entered New Inlet, where anchor was cast, and the eagerly landed to view the mysterious country which they had come so far to behold. Their first act was to formally take possession of the land in the name of the English queen, and then to deliver the same to Raleigh's representative in accordance with his charter. This done the adventurers found enough in their novel surroundings to delight their eyes; grapes, in greater abundance than they had dreamed of, everywhere met their admiring vision, depending from the branches of the tallest cedars, clustering upon shrubs along the sandy shores, on verdant hillside and plain, in a manner "incredible to be written." Ascending the adjacent hills and looking about them they found that they were on an island about twenty miles long and six miles in



"THE ARRIVALL OF THE ENGLISHMEN IN VIRGINIA."

width. The view from the hilltop was enchanting. Magnificent forests stretched away on every side, not such woods as they had beheld in "Bohemia, Muscovia or Hercynia, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars of the world, farre bettering the cedars of the Acores, of the Indies, or Lybanus." Nor was there lack of variety in these rich woodlands, redolent with sweetest odors; for pines of magnificent proportions lifted their verdant crowns cloudward, overtopping the dark cypress, the gummy lentisk, and "the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many others of excellent smell and qualitie." The umbrageous solitudes of these vast woods sheltered numberless deer and other animals of the chase, and the discharge of an arquebuse raised such a multitude of cranes, that their mingled cries seemed like an army of men. On the third day of their sojourn here, while they were all on shipboard, a solitary canoe propelled by three natives appeared and landed on the island. One of the natives came out on a point of land to hold intercourse

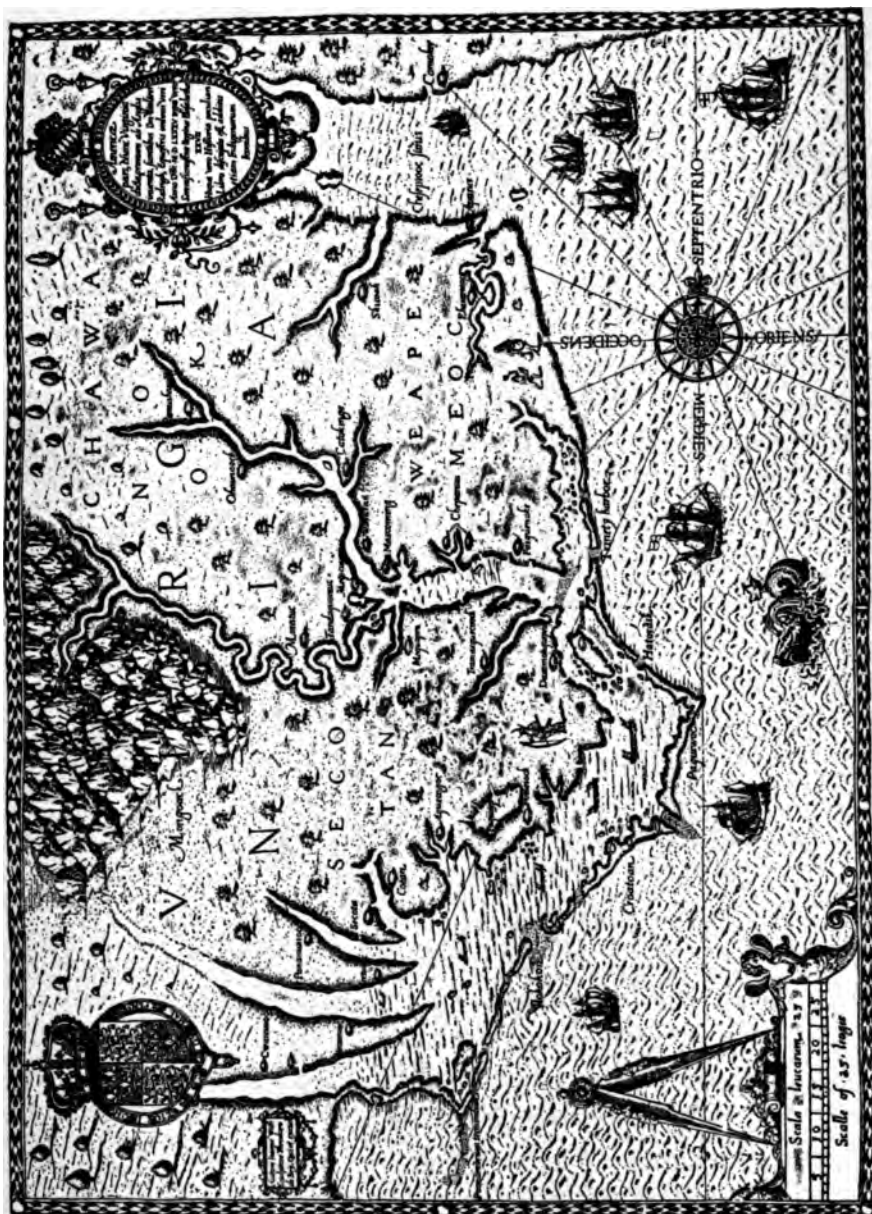
with those on board, whereupon Simon Ferdinando and Phillip Amadas taking a boat rowed toward him. No sign of distrust was shown by the native, who fearlessly entered the boat and was taken to the ship, where he was treated to wine and meats, and dismissed with presents. To show his gratitude, the poor savage, upon regaining the shore, took his canoe and began to fish assiduously. So abundant were the fish, that within half an hour his canoe was full, and going on shore, he placed them in two piles, making signs that one was for each vessel. He then departed.

On the following day, the brother of the king, with forty or fifty of his people, came to the island opposite the ships. Leaving their canoes on the shore, they spread upon the grass a long mat, upon an end of which the royal representative sat down, while four of his principal men sat on the other end, the rest of the company standing at a respectful distance. This indicated that an audience was expected, and the English with their weapons landed and proceeded toward him. Strange to say, neither the king's brother, Granganimeo, nor his people

exhibited any fear, but maintained a dignity of demeanor quite unexpected in a savage people. With hearty goodwill the king's brother beckoned to the Englishmen to take a seat beside him, which they did, and were welcomed by signs expressive of pleasure at their coming. He then addressed them in a long speech unintelligible to them of course, and was answered by a present of trinkets, which greatly gratified him. During these ceremonies the people maintained a respectful silence, the four chief men only venturing to address each other in low whispers, such was the apparent reverence for their king and his representative; indeed, their whole bearing indicated that these people were much farther advanced toward civilization than the natives encountered by Frobisher and others in the far north. The absence of the king himself was caused by wounds which he had recently received in battle, which prevented him from leaving the village where he resided, a distance of five days' journey from the place where the English ships had anchored. Presents were afterward made to the four principal attendants; but the donors were informed that these were servants, and not allowed to receive gifts, which, according to their laws of etiquette, appertained to royalty. A trade was opened with these people, and trinkets exchanged for furs, a bright tin dish proving to be the most highly valued thing exhibited by the English, because it would serve, as the royal representative explained by suspending it from his neck so as to cover his breast, as a protection against the arrows of his enemies. The natives greatly desired to obtain hatchets and swords, which they could use in war; but these the English refused to part with. After a better acquaintance, Granganimeo visited the ships with his wife and children, and partook of English hospitality. They were adorned after the savage fashion with showy ornaments, were of a yellowish complexion, and some of them had hair of auburn and chestnut hue. Large numbers of the people continued to arrive, all eager to exchange their furs for English notions; but none except the chiefs, whose rank was indicated by badges of

copper worn upon their heads, attempted to trade in his presence. When he would visit the ships, he would inform those on board, by causing fires to be built along the shore equal in number to the boats which he intended should accompany him. Both by him and his wife a showy state was maintained, and wherever they went they were accompanied by numerous attendants. Their boats, unlike those of the northern savages, which were usually made of the bark of the birch, were formed from the trunks of trees suitably hollowed by burning, and scooping out the coals with shells. Granganimeo in his dealings with the English displayed a degree of honor unexpected in a savage, and the English did not hesitate to trust him with valuables, upon the promise of payment for them. His goodwill was daily exhibited by presents of game and vegetables sent to the ships. The armor of the strangers greatly excited his admiration, and he expressed a desire to obtain it; but although he offered in exchange his choicest pearls, his offers were disregarded.

A party of the adventurers paid a visit to the island of Roanoke, seven leagues distant from their anchorage, where they found a small fortified settlement. Here they were welcomed by the wife of Granganimeo, who entertained them royally; and as their clothes were wet and soiled, she assisted her women in washing and drying them. While the adventurers were partaking of the repast prepared for them, they were startled by the appearance of two hunters returning from the chase with bows and arrows. Perceiving the uneasiness of her guests, their hostess not only caused the seizure and destruction of the arms of the offending hunters, but had them driven away. In spite of this generosity, the English did not dare to sleep in the village, and withdrew to their boats, greatly to the regret of the simple natives, who pressed upon them not only the materials of a partially prepared feast, but even the vessels containing it. The distrust exhibited by her guests seemed to cause real grief to the wife of the chief; and finding that they insisted upon remaining in their boat through the night, she sent them mats --



"THE CARTE OF ALL THE COAST OF VIRGINIA."

protect them from the weather and caused a guard of men and women to sit all night on the bank near them. So gentle and affectionate were these people, that the chronicler of the voyage was forcibly reminded of the golden age and its innocent felicities. Never, they told him, had they seen white people but once before, when a ship was wrecked on their shores, about twenty years past, the evidences of which were still visible in a few iron implements which they possessed. Some of the shipwrecked mariners were saved, and with the aid of the natives fastened two of the canoes of the country together to sustain masts, upon which they stretched rude sails made of their shirts and put to sea, but were lost, as was evidenced by the wreck of their anomalous craft, which was afterward found by the natives upon the shores of a neighboring island.

The people even here in this fruitful paradise were ever agitated by the alarms of war. There were leagues offensive and defensive, and conflicts cruel and destructive with neighboring tribes; so that at the period described some parts of the country had been nearly depopulated. Their weapons were few and ineffective against light armor; swords of hardened wood, arrows of reed tipped with bone, clubs fortified with the horn of the stag or other beast, comprised their simple armory. But upon weapons they did not wholly rely. They carried to the foray an image of the deity who presided over their destinies, of which they took counsel, "as the Romans were wont of the oracle of Apollo."

Without making any considerable explorations, Amadas and Barlow, having satisfied themselves of the fitness of the country for colonization, thought best to return home and report their discovery to Raleigh; and taking leave of the natives, after a prosperous voyage they reached England about the middle of September, having with them two natives of the country named Manchese and Manteo, both "lustie men."

The adventurers' account of the country of which they had taken possession for Raleigh in the name of Elizabeth was received with enthusiasm. Elizabeth named it Virginia, and bestowed upon

the fortunate Raleigh the honor of knighthood; hence he was enabled to decorate his arms with the legend, *Propria insignia Walteri Raleigh, milites, Domini et Gubernatoris Virginus*.

Without loss of time Raleigh began preparations for colonizing his new possessions, and on the ninth of April, 1585, despatched from Plymouth seven ships under the command of his kinsman, Sir Richard Grenville, "with one hundred householders and many things necessary to begin a new state." The head of the colony was Ralf Lane, who had seen military service in Ireland, and was well known to Raleigh for his ability. A number of gentlemen of reputation, among whom were several who subsequently achieved distinction, accompanied the expedition.


On the twelfth of May, Grenville, with a portion of his fleet, came to anchor at the island of St. John de Portorico, where he landed and erected a temporary fortification and, felling timber, began building a pinnace, which, it seems, he considered needful to carry out his designs. While engaged in this work he was surprised by the appearance of a company of Spanish horsemen, who reconnoitred the intruders from a safe distance and then withdrew. Soon after a strange sail appeared in the offing; and alarmed at what might be an enemy by sea, which might co-operate with those on land, the *Tiger* hastily weighed anchor and stood off to reconnoitre. The strange ship, however, proved to be one of his own vessels, under the command of the afterward renowned Thomas Cavendish, which had been separated from the rest of the fleet in a storm in the Bay of Portugal. Her appearance was hailed with joy, and she was welcomed with a salvo of artillery.

A few days later a force of twenty Spanish horsemen showed themselves; whereupon Grenville despatched twenty footmen and two men mounted upon horses, which he had secured, who were met by a flag of truce. After an exchange of civilities, learning that the English only desired to provide themselves with necessities of which they stood in need, and which they were determined to have

at all extremities, they withdrew with effusive demonstrations of goodwill, promising to supply their wants; but failing to fulfil their promise, Grenville, after waiting ten days, having launched the newly built pinnace, marched into the country to obtain the provisions which had been promised him, and not meeting the Spaniards, he set fire to the forests and withdrew to his fortification, which he also fired, and prepared to continue his voyage.

Shortly after sailing, Grenville fell in with two Spanish ships, one of which her crew abandoned when they espied the English fleet. The other proved to be richly laden and to have on board "divers Spaniards of account." These the audacious Grenville "ransomed for good round summes," and landed at St. John's.

Taking one of the captured vessels, Lane sailed to Roxo Bayou, the southwest side of St. John's, where the Spaniards had salt works, and in the face of a Spanish force loaded his vessel with salt and rejoined the fleet, which then set sail for the island of Hispaniola. Here the English were received by the Spanish authorities with courtesy; and although at first they exhibited some apprehension of danger at the landing of so large a body of men in their harbor, their fears were soon dispelled by the friendly attitude of the English, who, while their general and the Spanish governor were conferring together, proceeded to erect "two banquetting houses covered with greene boughes," one for the gentlemen, the other for the "inferior sort;" wherein they soon set forth a right royal banquet served "all in state," of which the Spaniards partook, amid the exhilarating strains of martial music.

Not to be outdone in generosity, the Spaniards invited their entertainers to a cattle hunt, in which they engaged with zest. An exchange of goods and presents followed, and on the seventh of June Grenville, having supplied himself with "horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheep, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearls, tobacco, and such like commodities of the Island," spread a  show of goodwill from which was imputed to

fear by the more experienced of Grenville's party, who doubted not that, had the English force been insufficient for successful resistance, they might have received the same barbarous treatment which Englishmen were wont to receive at Spanish hands. Proceeding on his course, Grenville passing the next day near a small island abounding with seals, anchored to enjoy the sport of capturing some of the strange creatures, and barely escaped being wrecked with a number of his friends in the pinnace. Escaping this hazard, he resumed his voyage on the ninth at the island of Caycos, where he had been told by a Portuguese in his company salt ponds could be found; but failing to discover these ponds, greatly to the discomfort of the poor Portuguese, he again resumed his voyage, stopping at various islands to reconnoitre. On the twenty-third the fleet was off Cape Fear and, barely escaping wreck on that dangerous headland, entered a harbor, where the people on shipboard feasted on fish, which they caught in great numbers. On the twenty-sixth, Grenville came to anchor at Ocracoke Inlet, and on the eleventh of July, having brought with him for guides and interpreters the two natives, Manteo and Manchese, who had been carried to England by the former expedition, he set out with a considerable company across Pamlico Sound to explore the country. In this undertaking, three Indian towns, Pomeiok, Agnascogok and Secotan, were discovered. A silver cup had been lost at Agnascogok, said to have been stolen by a native of the town; and as it had not been returned as promised, Grenville, upon returning to his fleet, went in a boat with a party of men to recover it. Upon his appearance the affrighted natives fled; and to punish them for the loss of his cup, Grenville "burnt and spoyled their corne and Towne," an act of barbarous cruelty which converted these people into dangerous enemies of the colonists.

Granganimeo, the brother of King Wingina, visited the ships in friendly fashion as he had done the previous year, and no cause of trouble between that gentle savage and the hasty Grenville appears to have arisen. After several weeks spent in explorations and preparations for

settlement, having on the fifth of August despatched John Arundel to England, Grenville, having landed the colony of one hundred and seven men on Roanoke Island, sets sail on the twenty-fifth for home. But the fiery and heroic Grenville could not resist an adventure when it came in his way; and six days after leaving Roanoke he fell in with a Spanish ship of "300 tunne richly loaden," which he boarded with "a boate made with boards of chests," so frail as to sink at the ship's side as he and his valorous crew left it.

nesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine, nor Italie have no greater, so many sorts of Apothecaries drugs, as common there as grassies here." To the delighted eyes of the colonists, Virginia was another Canaan flowing with milk and honey. The savage inhabitants were courteous and tractable; the affluent soil brought forth the maize, richest of breadstuffs, in lavish profusion; indeed, whatever "commodities soever, Spaine, France, Italie or the East partes" yielded, "as wines of all sortes, in ozles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch,



BOATMAKING.

Having captured the Spanish ship, Grenville took up his quarters on board, and headed his prize for England, reaching Plymouth on the eighteenth of September, where he "was courteously received by divers of his worshipful friends." By a letter bearing date the third of September, written by Lane to Richard Hakluyt, we have his description of the country, which he enthusiastically pronounced to be "the goodliest soyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such great-

frankensence, corrans, sugers," this favored land abounded with.

It would be supposed from this letter that the prosperity of the colony was assured; but such was not the case. Although Lane was a man of ability, apparently well fitted to be a pioneer in founding a state, the times were not propitious for his colonial enterprise. It was soon discovered that the place chosen for settlement was unsuitable; the harbor was poor and the coast dangerous. Natives from various tribes in the vicinity visited his settlement, and from th



A GREAT LORD OF VIRGINIA.

gathered valuable information. From accounts given him by an Indian chief, Menatonon, while exploring the Chowan, he learned of the Chesapeake Bay abounding in pearls, and the people who inhabited its shores, and resolved to remove his colony thither as soon as the expected supply ships came from England. Unfortunately, Manchese, one of the natives who had accompanied the colony from England, did all in his power to sow distrust of the colonists among the savages, and the king's brother, the friendly Granganimeo, suddenly died, whereupon, Wingina, influenced by their enemies, assumed an air of hostility toward the colonists and incited the chiefs of other tribes against them. But although Lane found the tribes with whom he had established leagues of friendship hostile to him, he thought it important to explore the Roanoke, which the Indians had informed him issued from a great *rock near a sea and flowed through a country rich with precious metals.*

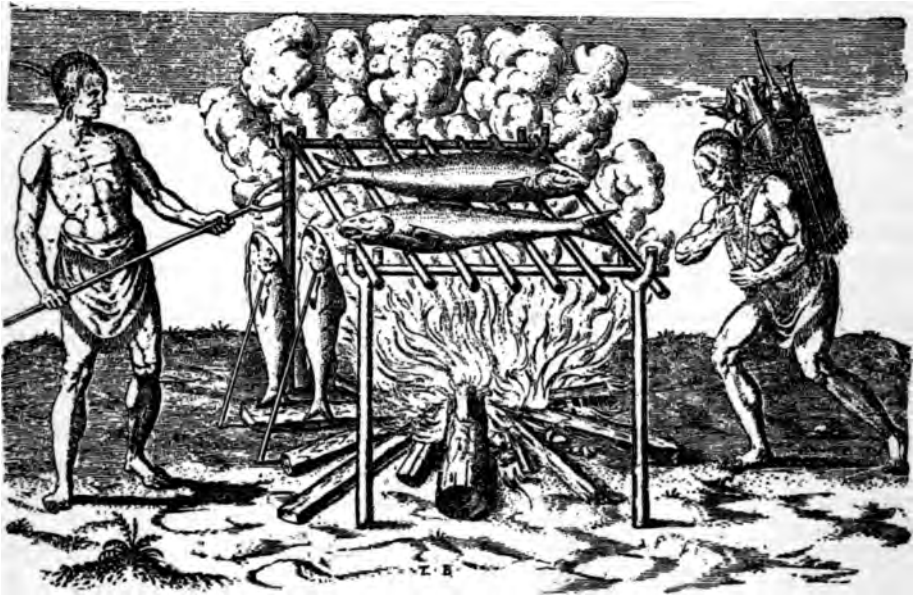
This undertaking was attended with severe hardships. Provisions soon grew scarce, and none could be obtained at the towns which they passed, the inhabitants having fled at their approach; hence Lane proposed to his men to turn back, but left the decision to them. They, as eager as himself to feast their eyes upon the riches of the country and to be the first to trace a water-way to the western ocean, which they fondly believed the sea described by the Indians to be, resolved to go forward, and when their provisions were exhausted to kill two mastiffs which accompanied them, and sustain themselves upon their flesh. With this spirit, the little company pushed forward, Lane himself burning to reach the country of the Mangoaks, who, he had been told, had intercourse with a strange people whose land abounded with a "marvellous mineral" in such abundance that they wrought it into plates with which to adorn their habitations. This mineral, paler and softer than copper, was brought down by the swift-rushing stream, and caught by the natives in bowls partially covered with a skin. Pushing on then with energy, Lane pursued his course for two days, the natives of the country withdrawing as he advanced.

On the afternoon of the second day, while lying on shore suffering for lack of food, their stores having all been spent, Lane heard the voices of savages calling, as he thought, from the wooded river banks, to Manteo, his native guide; and glad to have the opportunity of holding friendly intercourse with them, he caused Manteo to reply. Hearing them sing, apparently in response, which Lane supposed to be in token of welcome to their country, he was beginning to feel that his toils and sufferings were to be rewarded by success, when suddenly Manteo warned him of danger, and ere the English could put themselves in a proper state of defence, they were assailed by a storm of arrows. Fortunately none were hurt; and, scaling the steep banks of the river, Lane pursued the flying foe until the setting sun deepening the gloom of the forest compelled his men to return to their boats. Weary and famished, with no prospect of obtaining

food from the natives, the adventurers set out before daybreak, having first regaled themselves on "dogges porridge," on their return to Roanoke.

On the way they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon a decoction of sassafras leaves; and when they reached the broad sound, which lay between them and their destination, they were weak from want of food. It was on the eve of Easter, and a heavy gale lashing the waters into foaming billows warned them against attempting the passage in their frail boats; accordingly they

hind in a perilous situation. Rumors of disaster to his party had reached Roanoke, and Wingina, who, upon assuming the chieftainship, had taken the name of Pemisapan, and had for some time regarded the English coldly, became offensively insolent to the little colony in its weakness, and, contemning the Christian faith which they had shown some regard for, openly taunted the English with the weakness of their God, who had been unable to protect his friends against the fury of the savage Renapoaks. In vain Ensenore, the aged father of Pemisapan,



"THE BROWLLINGE OF THEIR FISHE OVER THE FLAME."

"fasted very truly" that day, and on Easter morning were rejoiced with the sight of pleasant skies and tranquil waters.

They were expecting when they reached Chimpanum, a fishing station of friendly natives, to be able to obtain fish to allay the pangs of hunger; but great was their disappointment when they reached the place, late in the afternoon of Easter, to find it deserted. They found, however, a few fish in the abandoned weirs, which revived them somewhat, so that the next morning they reached Roanoke in safety. Here Lane found the people whom he had left be-

who had always been a faithful friend of the English, endeavored to persuade his people to entertain a better spirit toward the colonists; and had not Lane unexpectedly returned, they would have abandoned their settlement, which would probably have been fatal to the English, since they depended upon the natives for food, being unable to construct suitable weirs for taking fish, and having no seed corn to plant in the spring.

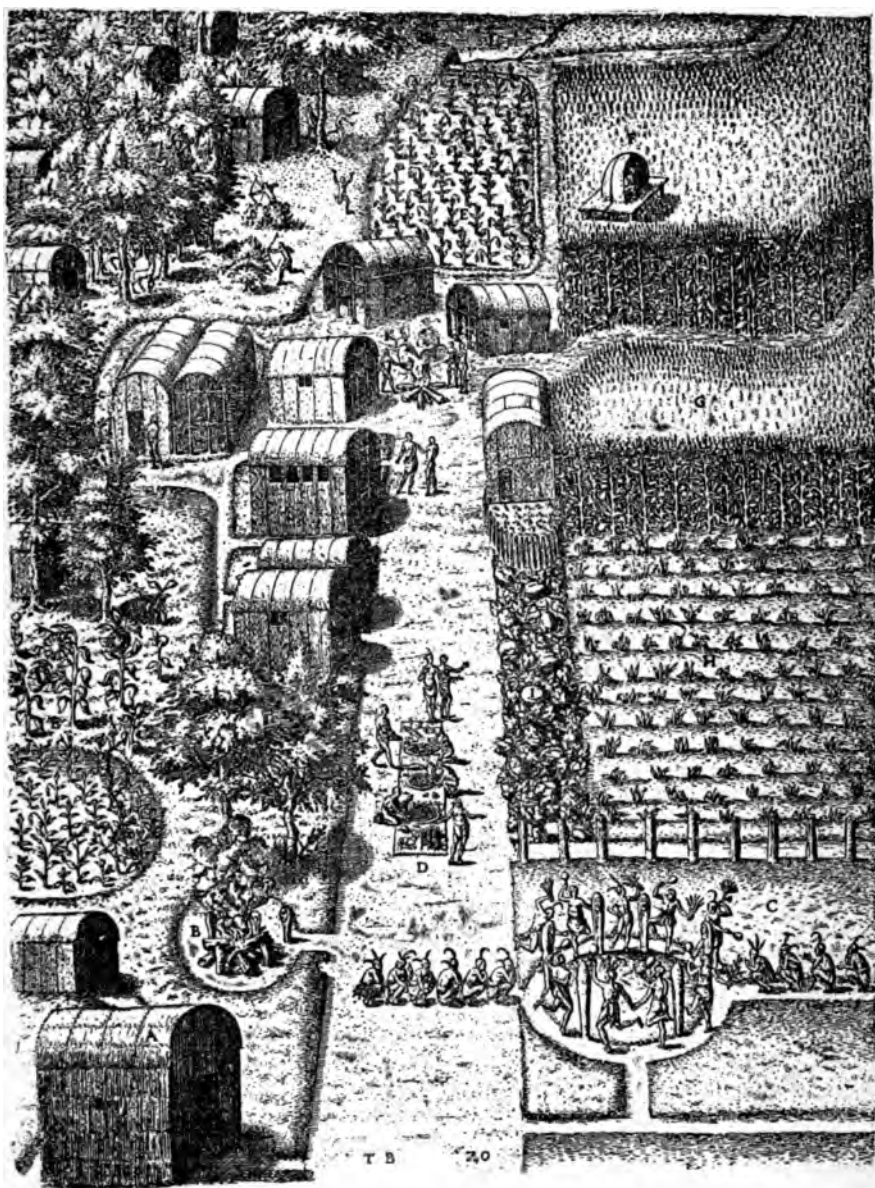
The return of Lane with all his men from the country of a people whose prowess was acknowledged quickly turned the tide in their favor, and Ensenore at once assumed the dignity of a prophet. This

aged chief entertained exaggerated theories respecting the pale men, who had come like spirits from the misty sea. He had told the people that, if they killed these strange men, they would after a short period return to life again, and that even while in the land of shades they would avenge wrongs done them in life. Some of the superstitious natives remembered strange sounds which they had heard and blows which they had received in the darkness when far away from the settlement, and attributed them to the spirits of the English who had died among them. The natives, too, who had accompanied Lane told marvellous stories of English prowess when they encountered the dreaded Renapoaks, and took Menatonon, one of their chiefs, with the son "that he best loved," prisoners, the latter of whom Lane still held in captivity. Thus the colony at Roanoke became suddenly popular; and when Menatonon sent an ambassador with a costly pearl to ransom his son and, joining with Okisko, a neighboring king, sent twenty-four of the chief men of the country to offer service and homage to Elizabeth and Raleigh, they were regarded even by Pemisapan with favor. Weirs were constructed for them by the natives, and corn planted for their sustenance, until they could receive stores from England, which they expected would arrive not long after their harvest. Unfortunately their faithful friend Ensenore died, and the enemies of the colony again became active. In order to make the destruction of the colony certain, Pemisapan and others, among whom was Manchese, their bitterest enemy, drew some of the neighboring tribes into a scheme to surprise and destroy Lane and his people. To this end, bodies of men from these tribes were invited to assemble at Roanoke, a month after Ensenore's death, to join in a funeral celebration in his honor. In the mean time Pemisapan secretly caused the weirs to be broken beyond repair by the English, and removed to another place, for the ostensible purpose of preparing the ground for planting, thereby throwing the colonists, who had depended upon them for *partial supplies* of food, upon their own *resources*, which compelled Lane to send

parties of his men to a distance to obtain sustenance. These detached parties it was intended to cut off and destroy separately, and in the dead of night to surprise the colonists who remained at Roanoke by setting fire to their dwellings and slaying them as they rushed forth confused and unprepared for conflict. To two of Pemisapan's chief men ~~was~~ assigned the honor of despatching Lane; and but for the gratitude of the captive son of Menatonon, whom Lane had treated with kindness, the plot would probably have succeeded. This young man, however, to whom all the details of the plot were disclosed, revealed them fully to Lane, who promptly prepared to checkmate his enemies by a night surprise. A few days before the time set by Pemisapan for consummating his designs, his people, on the last of May, began to assemble at Roanoke, and Lane resolved to surprise them.

In order to prevent news from being carried to their chief, upon whom he had designs, Lane intrusted to one of his men the task of secretly seizing after nightfall the canoes lying about the shores of the island, to prevent the departure of any of the natives. This plan, so well calculated to succeed, was frustrated by unskilful management. The man who was to prevent any of the natives from going to Pemisapan discovered a canoe leaving the island, and upset it, killing at the same time two natives who were in it. This being seen from the shore alarmed the natives, and a conflict at once began between them and the English, which resulted in the defeat of the natives, who finally fled to the woods for safety.

As soon as it was light enough the next morning, Lane with a small force of men started to surprise Pemisapan, who had not yet learned of the overthrow of his people at Roanoke. Landing near the residence of Pemisapan, Lane sent him word that he was on his way to Croatoan, and wished to complain to him concerning an attempt of one of his people to carry away the captive son of Menatonon. Not suspecting danger, Pemisapan allowed Lane to approach him, and while talking Lane suddenly



"THE TOWNE OF SECOTA."

- E. Gardens.
- F. Watchman to protect the corn.
- H. Young Corn.
- G. Ripe Corn.
- C. Dancing Ground.

- D. Feasting Place.
- B. Place of Prayer.
- A. Tombs of the Kings.
- I. Garden.
- K. Fire at Feast Times.

L. River.

gave the watchword, "Christ our victory," which had been agreed upon as the signal for attack. Pemisapan fell from a pistol shot fired by the colonel, and was supposed to be dead; but while the English were occupied in slaying the surprised natives, he sprang up and attempted to escape. He was overtaken, however, by Lane's Irish servant, who slew him and bore his head in triumph to his master. This put an end to present danger from Pemisapan's people.

A week after this occurrence, the colonists were overjoyed to receive news from Captain Stafford, whom Lane had sent to Admiral's Island to get food and watch for the appearance of sails, that he had seen twenty-three vessels in the offing. Of course it was not known whether they were friends or foes, and the little colony was in a state of anxious suspense until the arrival the next day of Stafford himself, who brought a letter from Sir Francis Drake offering to supply their necessities. On the tenth of June Sir Francis himself anchored at Roanoke and offered the colonists all the assistance in his power. This was done with the consent of all the commanders in the fleet, for Drake's fleet was a little commonwealth, in which all the commanders had a voice, and questions of moment were referred to them for decision.

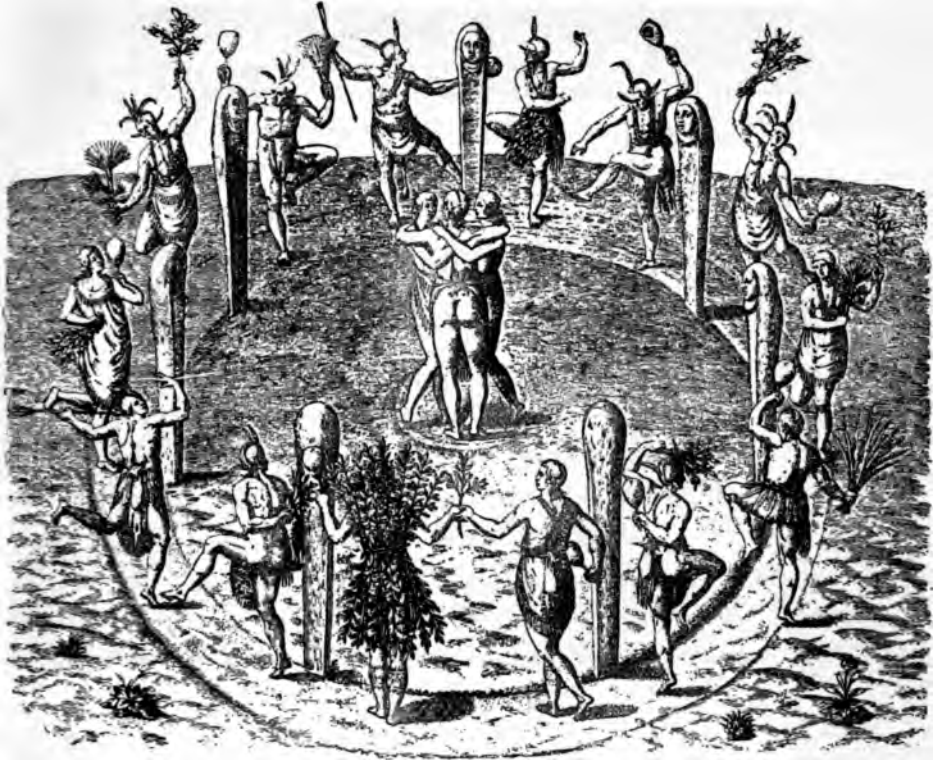
It was decided, upon Lane's request, that Drake should take home the weak and unserviceable members of the colony, and should leave at Roanoke ships and competent commanders with a sufficiency of provisions, and if supplies did not reach the colonists as expected by the following August, that they were to embark for home and abandon their settlement. This arrangement, so satisfactory to the colonists, concluded, every one was on the alert to prepare letters for their friends at home. While they were busily employed in this pleasant occupation, a terrific storm broke upon the fleet; and, exposed as it was in the unsheltered roadstead, it suffered severely. One of the vessels assigned to Lane, already provisioned for the colony, and having on board some of his most efficient men, *was driven to sea and returned no more.*

The bad harbor and the injury already

suffered by Drake in his philanthropic efforts to assist the colonists admonished him to bring affairs to a speedy conclusion; but with almost unexampled generosity, he offered to place one of his principal ships at Lane's disposal, to carry out the plan already agreed upon, although he declared himself unwilling to leave the ship in the unsafe harbor of Roanoke, where she would be likely to suffer wreck, preferring to leave her in the roadstead where Lane would be obliged to assume the responsibility of her care. At the same time he requested Lane to deliver to him in writing word as to what he desired him to do, promising to comply with his wishes as far as possible.

Reflecting upon the mishaps which had befallen the colony, Lane summoned a council of the colonists to consider what it was best to do. Considering their weaknesses and losses, the want of a safe harbor and the uncertainty of receiving any supplies from England, it was resolved to request Drake to carry them home; and Drake, consenting to their request, took them with their belongings on board his fleet, which, says Lane, "sustained more peril of wrack than in all his former most honorable actions against the Spaniards," and, "with praises unto God for all, set saile, the nineteenth of June, 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same year."

In studying the accounts of this settlement at Roanoke, one can but experience a feeling of regret at Drake's well-intended but superzealous action in visiting them with such profuse proffers of assistance; and when Lane and his people, crowded into the vessels of Drake's fleet, lost sight of the land which they had esteemed as the "paradise of the world," the ship which Raleigh had with such personal labor and sacrifice freighted with plenteous supplies for their wants was speeding with swelling sails toward their abandoned settlement, where their



"THEIR DANSES WHICH THEY USE ATT THEIR HYGHE FEASTES."

household goods were scattered in confusion, as though their owners had been "chased from thence by a mighty army," and their fields almost ready for the harvest were pleasantly rustling in the summer winds. Finding the colony gone from Roanoke, after searching the surrounding country in vain for them, Raleigh's vessel returned to England to find the colonists already there.

Nor was this all that had been done for the welfare of the colonists; for Sir Richard Grenville had been despatched to Virginia with three ships, and he arrived at Roanoke two weeks after the departure of the supply ship for England. Not finding the colonists as he expected, and unwilling to lose *de facto* possession of the country, he left fifteen men at Roanoke with provisions for two years, and returned to England, landing on his way at the Azores and despoiling the Spaniards, as was his wont wherever he found that detested people.

But the failure of the colony under Lane in no whit discouraged the dauntless Raleigh. The next year, on the eighth of May, three vessels containing one hundred and fifty men sailed from Plymouth harbor for the New World. The charge of this expedition Raleigh intrusted to John White, whom he appointed governor, associating with him in a charter carefully prepared, active associates, under the sonorous title of the "Governor and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia."

The commander of the principal vessel was a Spaniard, Simon Ferdinando, whose heart was not in the service of the enterprise, if we may credit the chronicler; for, arriving in the Bay of Portugal, the fly-boat bearing a part of the colonists was "lewdly" forsaken by him with all on board, while in distress, and he went contentedly on his way, entertaining White and his companions with stories which in all cases proved to be fictitious.



"THEIR IDOL KIWASA."

Indeed, had it not been for Captain Stafford, a man whose vigilance and ability had been often tested, he would have wrecked his ship on Cape Fear, which would have brought the enterprise to an ignominious close. As it was, the colonists escaped wreck, and on the twenty-second of July their two vessels came to safe anchorage at "Hatorask," and White with forty of his best men took the pinnace to go to Roanoke to find the fifteen men left there by Grenville the year before. After finding these men, it was White's intention to take his colony to Chesapeake Bay and there establish it; but no sooner had the company embarked than they heard to their dismay a command given by Ferdinando's direction to the mariners to leave them at Roanoke, with the exception of the governor and a few favored persons, as he would land them at no other place on account of the lateness of the season, — a pretext too ridiculous to consider.

In vain White argued; all the mariners whom Ferdinando had before brought to *his own views* sustained him in this particular matter, and he was obliged to yield.

The company reached Roanoke Island at sunset, but found the place deserted. No trace could be found of the missing men except the blanched bones of one of their number, mournful tokens of a savage attack upon the little settlement. The fort which Lane had erected was thrown down, but most of the dwellings were standing. Nature, however, was already actively engaged in her favorite work of effacing the art of man, and even the dwellings had been invaded by a rank growth of vegetation, particularly of melons, upon which a number of deer were quietly feeding.

White at once set his company at work repairing the houses and erecting new ones, being obliged to abandon his projected settlement at Chesapeake Bay. While thus busily engaged, the fly-boat, which Ferdinando had stolen away from in the night, while lying in the Bay of Portugal, arrived safely, to the joy of the colonists, but to the chagrin of Ferdinando, who was grieved greatly at their coming, having evidently a grudge against the captain, who he hoped would be

unable to find his way to Virginia, or would fall a prey to enemies in the dangerous place where he abandoned him. — but "God disappointed his wicked pretences."

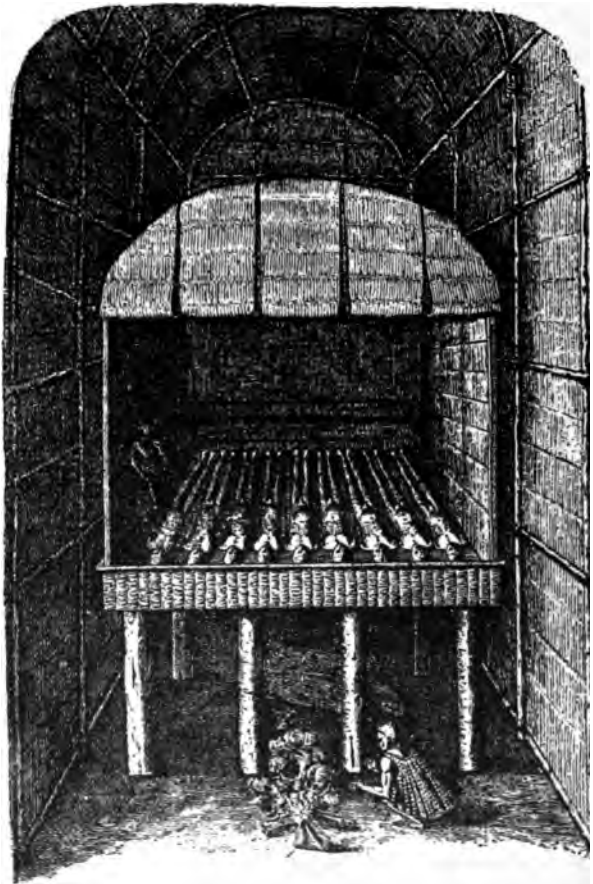
A few days after their arrival, George Howe, one of the colonists, while gathering crabs, was slain by savages in ambush, an emphatic reminder of the necessity of constant caution.

On the thirtieth of July, White despatched Stafford with twenty men under the guidance of the faithful Manteo, who had accompanied them from England, to visit Croatoan, where Manteo's mother and relatives lived, for the purpose of getting tidings of Grenville's missing men. At first the Croatoans received them with distrust, but upon being informed by Manteo of the peaceful character of their visit, they received them with good-natured hospitality. From these natives Stafford learned the fate of Grenville's men. They had been surprised, and several of them slain by natives, who had been hostile to Lane's colony, those who escaped alive having fled no one knew whither.

To several of the neighboring tribes, who had shown unfriendliness to the English, White sent messages offering them friendship and forgetfulness of past wrongs, and requesting them to send some of their chiefs to confer with him. The natives failing to appear at the time appointed, and White having learned that the remnant of the deceased Pemisapan's people had slain Howe, and had moreover been engaged in the attack on Grenville's men, resolved to punish them; therefore before daybreak on the ninth of August he set out for their village with Stafford and twenty-four men, guided by the faithful Manteo. Nearing the village of the hostile natives, White de-

scried a number of people gathered about a fire, and getting them between him and the water he fired upon them. Taken by surprise, the wounded natives fled and hid themselves in the reeds, followed by the English, who had not gone far before they were surprised to see one of the natives run toward Stafford, calling him by name. To their chagrin they discovered that they had attacked Manteo's people, who, hearing that Pemisapan's men had abandoned their settlement from fear of the English, had repaired thither to gather the grain and fruits left behind.

Disappointed in his purpose of punishing the foes of the English, and chagrined at having inflicted injury upon his friends which grieved Manteo greatly, though he



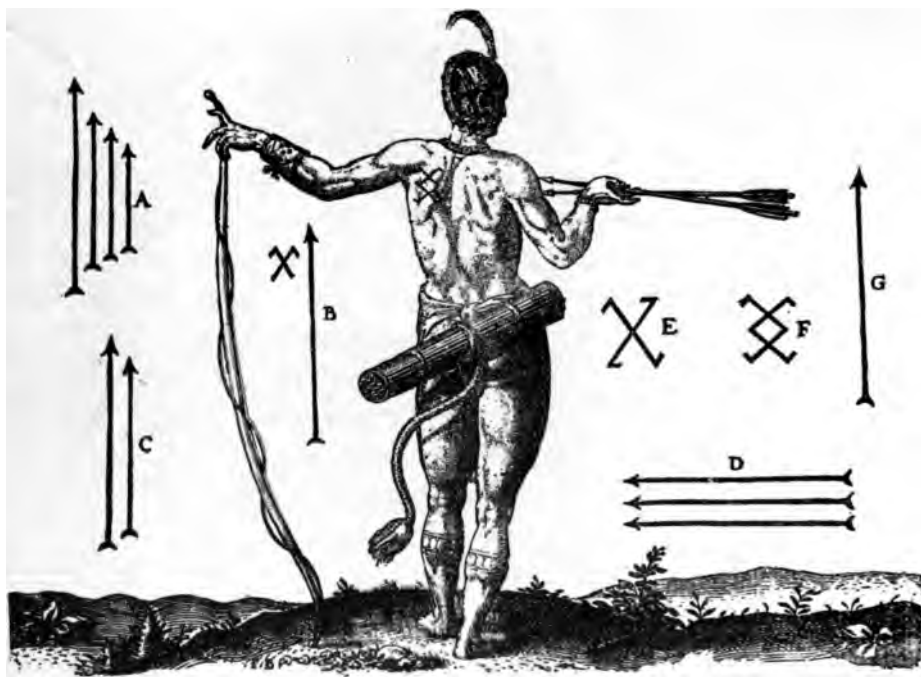
"THE TOMBE OF THEIR CHIEFF LORDS."

ascribed it to their fault in not coming to Roanoke as they had promised, White retraced his steps to the settlement. To reward Manteo for his fidelity, he was publicly christened "Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuk." On the eighteenth an event occurred which would have passed unheeded but for the peculiar circumstances which surrounded it, but which will now forever stand in recorded history, — namely the birth of a grand-daughter to the governor, who was christened Virginia, as she was the first Christian child born there.

The vessels were now nearly ready to return to England, when a violent north-east storm arose, which came near causing their destruction. It was deemed best to send two of the assistants home

and he at last reluctantly yielded to their persuasions.

All was now bustle and activity in the little settlement. But half a day was left for the governor to get ready for his departure, and everybody was busy preparing messages for their friends at home. On the twenty-seventh, at midnight, the governor went on board the fly-boat, which he seemed to prefer to the larger ship commanded by Ferdinando, and the two vessels set sail for England. After mishaps and hardships unusual even in that age of maritime misadventure, with the loss of many of his men and the sickness of others, White reached the western coast of Ireland on the sixteenth of October and, leaving his storm-beaten vessel, found his way to England as best he could.



"THE MARCKES OF SUNDRYE OF THE CHIEF MENE OF VIRGINIA."

by the vessels to secure supplies for the colony, and a controversy arose, no man among them being willing to go. The governor himself was therefore pressed to go, but declined, as it would subject him to the criticism of his enemies, to leave *his colony so soon after arriving in the country.* The people, however, insisted,

Ferdinando had arrived before him, with his crew so reduced by disease that he was unable to bring his vessel into port without assistance.

When White reached England he found all in commotion. Rome had summoned her hosts from all quarters to make one supreme effort to bring England under her



THEIR SITTING AT MEATE."

iron rule. To this end Philip the Second was selected to be the standard bearer of the Holy Roman Empire, and was admonished by the Pope "that, seeing God had blessed him with such exceeding great Blessing and Benefits," he ought to "perform somewhat which might be pleasing and acceptable to God : " namely by making a "Conquest of England, and replanting the Catholick Roman Religion and abolishing Heresie there." This pious charge was accepted by the most Catholic king ; and to this new conquest of England the pitiless legions of Rome gathered as of old, but inspired with a fiercer zeal for success than had ever flamed in the breasts of Cæsar's rude veterans. So confident were they of success, that they held it sufficient to recommend "the Cause, the Armada and Army, to the Bishop of Rome, and the Prayers of the Catholicks to God and the Saints." Indeed, they fully believed that, stained as they were with the blood of numberless Christian martyrs, at home, in the Netherlands, in France, England and elsewhere in Europe, and of the helpless natives of the Indies, with the sickening smoke of a thousand *auto-da-fes* upon their garments, they would have

the all-conquering hosts of heaven to fight for them.

Against such a foe it was necessary for England to gather all her energies ; and White found his expectations of assistance for the friends he had left at Roanoke frustrated. Raleigh, as solicitous as himself for the welfare of his colony, could hardly find time in the wild confusion of that "climacterical year of the World," as German chronologers had foretold it would be, to listen to his story. True, a few score lives were at stake on the Virginia shores ; but many more lives were in danger at home.

White must have been beside himself with anxiety. He had left dear friends at Roanoke, among them his daughter and infant child. They must not be allowed to perish.

In spite of Raleigh's preoccupation with military affairs at home, with his usual enterprise he soon had an expedition for the relief of the colonists ready to sail under the charge of Grenville ; but before it had weighed anchor Grenville was ordered by the government to proceed to Cornwall where troops were being gathered to repel the expected invasion, and his ship passed into the government service.

Again White strove to obtain relief for his friends in Virginia, and Raleigh lent him his powerful aid. By their joint efforts, on April 22, 1588, White with exultant heart sailed from the shores of his native land with two vessels freighted with the much-needed supplies for the colony at Roanoke, who with longing eyes were scanning the eastern horizon for expected sails. But they looked in vain. White, proceeding on his course with pleasant anticipations of soon grasping the welcoming hands of his friends and kindred across the sea, came upon some Spanish ships. A fight ensued, and the English ships, battered and rendered unfit to proceed further on their errand of mercy, were forced to return to England, fortunate in having escaped worse disaster.

It was too late for White to again set out from England; the shadow of the coming storm was upon her. He was helpless and obliged to curb his impatience as best he could, while waiting through that dreary summer for the storm to burst; the sooner the better for him, as he might the sooner get relief to his suffering friends. How he must have chafed as the weeks wore away, and rumors were blown across the channel of the slowly gathering squadrons, the impregnable ships and terrible engines of destruction, which were soon to overwhelm England and bring it again under the rod of Rome.

We know the end. The terrible Armada came, wafted by priestly benedictions, its black ships christened with the names of saints and apostles and baptized as though they were sainted things, their high decks adorned with trappings of the Roman faith, crosses and chalices, candles and bells, shrines and sickly images, — came, and was smitten by cannon and tempest, until naught was left of it to excite any emotion save of pity or contempt.

Although the dreaded Armada was destroyed as effectually as the chariots of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, everything was in such confusion throughout the realm, that White could accomplish nothing for the relief of his colony until the year 1590, when a chance seemed open. John *Wattes*, an enterprising merchant of London, had fitted for an adventure to the

West Indies three ships which were lying idle in the dock on account of the necessary embargo which had been laid upon shipping, that it might be at the disposal of the government when needed. Knowing of Wattes's design, White obtained from him a promise to land him and some others at Roanoke with supplies for the colony there, provided he was able to procure the release of his ships. This, through Raleigh, White was able to accomplish; but the treacherous owner and commander, at the last moment, when it was too late to procure an order for their detention, refused to receive any one on board except White himself, who, however, resolved to go alone, and on the fifteenth of August, 1590, was landed at Roanoke. He found there no living soul of all the hopeful colony, which he had left there three years before, to welcome him. Nothing remained save several broken chests, which had apparently been buried near the fort and subsequently dug up by the Indians, and fragments of books, maps and pictures, some of which he recognized as his own property, scattered about in the long grass. On a large tree, from which the bark had been removed several feet from the ground, the word *Croatoan* was cut in capital letters, which evidently was to inform him of the removal of the colony there, that being the home of the faithful Manteo, whose people were friendly to the English. It had been decided before White left to remove the colony from Roanoke and to leave the name of the place to which they decided to go in a conspicuous place, to guide him to them on his return.

Anxious beyond measure to rejoin his people, White besought the captain of the vessel in which he had taken passage to take him to Croatoan, which he consented to do; but a convenient storm furnished a plausible excuse, and with White on board he set sail for England, where he arrived on the twenty-fourth of October. Frustrated in all his attempts to reach the colony, White was finally obliged to abandon all hope of again seeing his friends and relatives in Virginia, and he died after a few melancholy years, haunted ever by the familiar faces of those whose spectres peopled ever his

waking hours. Raleigh, however, made several futile attempts to discover them, but, exhausting his resources, was obliged to leave his patent to others, and the fate of the colony became an interesting and unsolved problem.

When the settlement was made at Jamestown in 1607, anxious inquiries were made for the lost colony, and attempts were made to discover if any of them were still alive. Inquiry was made of the natives, and Captain John Smith was told by one of the principal chiefs of the neighborhood that "at Ocanahonan were certaine men cloathed" in the same manner that Smith himself was; and William Strachey, who was the historian of the colony, speaking of this same place, says that by the relation of one "Machumps," an Indian, who had been in England and was friendly to the colonists, the people who lived there had "howses built with stone walles and one story above another, so taught them by those Englishe who escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at what tyme this our colony, under the conduct of Captain Newport, landed within the Chesapeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkeis about their howses, and take apes in the mountaines, and where, at Ritanoë, the Weroance, Eyanoco preserved seven of the English alive, — fower men, two boyes, and one yonge mayde (who escaped and fled up the river of Chanoke), to beat his copper of which he hath certaine mynes." These relations of the natives about Jamestown prompted the colonists to endeavor to find their lost countrymen, and attempts were made to reach them.

It is well known that the Spaniards were eager to obliterate all evidence of the discovery or occupation of American soil by the English, whom they regarded as interlopers, the Pope having bestowed the country upon Spain some time before its discovery; hence many interesting maps, plans and documents were obtained surreptitiously by Spanish agents and sent to Spain. A number of these plans and documents were recently discovered at Simancas, among them a curious chart of Virginia made shortly after the founding of the Jamestown

colony, and which Dom Pedro de Zuniga, with a letter dated at London, September 10, 1608, forwarded to his master, Philip the Third of Spain. This very interesting chart was probably carried to England by Captain Francis Nelson, who sailed from Virginia, June 2, 1608, and it must shortly after his arrival in England have fallen into the clutches of Zuniga. By it we are enabled to locate places mentioned by Smith and Strachey, and curious inscriptions upon it confirm the statements of Smith relative to attempts to discover the lost colonists.

The chart shows three rivers southward of the James, probably the Tar, the Roanoke and the Neuse. On the southern branch of the latter was the place which we are interested in locating, namely, Ocanahonan.

Smith, in his *True Relation*, says: "We had agreed with Ye King of Paspahege to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke beyond Roonok, where he reported many men to be apparalled. Wee landed him at Warraskoyack where playing the villaine and deluding us for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after without going further," and later we find that he sent from Warraskoyack Master Sicklemore and two guides "to seeke for the lost company of Sir Walter Raleigh's."

By reference to this chart we find on the southern bank of the James the place whence the expedition sent from Jamestown set out on its fruitless search, and near this place are these words: "Here Paspahege and 2 of our men landed to go to Panaweoock." Proceeding southerly and crossing the Neuse, the expedition reached a place called Panaweoock, which appears to be the same place known to the lost colonists as "Dasamonguepeuk," over which, as we know, Manteo, their faithful friend, was baptized as "Lord," and near this place we read: "Here the King of Paspahege reported our men to be and wants to go." Proceeding now southwesterly, we come to "Pakrakwick" or, as given by Smith, "Panawicke," and read as follows: "Here remayneth 4 men cloathed, that came from Roanoke to Ocanahonan." We cannot suppose that these four men were seen

Jamestown men; for if they had been, Smith or Strachey would have recorded the fact. We must therefore conclude that they were only reported to have been there.

Another important allusion to the same subject has been left recorded by the managers of the Virginia Company, who, speaking of their own hardships, say: "If with these are compared the advantages which we have gotten in the intelligence of some of our Nation planted by Sir Walter Raleigh, yet alive, within fifty mile of our fort, who can open the womb and bowels of this country, as is testified by two of our colony sent out to seek them, who (though denied by the savages speech with them) found crosses and Letters, the Characters and assured Testimonies of Christians newly cut in the bark of trees." From this we gather much to excite our interest.

name of the place whither they removed where it could be easily found to guide him to them on his return, and "that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, they should carve over the letters or name a Crosse (X) in this forme." As no such sign of distress was found over the name Croatoan, it seems reasonable to conclude that they removed to Croatoan, the home of their friend Manteo, expecting White to follow them there on his return. Nor are we to suppose that this place was far distant from their abandoned settlement at Roanoke. Why they left a portion of their property behind is not easily explained, unless they intended to return for it, which is probable. We should, however, endeavor to fix the locality of "Croatoan."

On the earliest maps this name is affixed to a low sandy island incapable of supporting a people, while on later maps



A CROATOAN MAN'S HOUSE NEAR PATE P. O., N. C.

That the colonists removed to Croatoan there can be little doubt. We know that it was understood before White's departure that "they intended to remove fifty miles further up into the maine presently," and that they were to leave the

the name is given to the peninsula on the mainland opposite Roanoke Island, which was fertile and in every respect well suited to habitation. This fertile peninsula was but partially occupied by the Croatoans in White's time, on account of

the proximity of their enemies, the tribe of Wingina. Professor White, in a late very able article on the subject, advances the ingenious supposition that by an understanding with Manteo's people the Croatoans joined the colonists and took full



CROATOAN MAN.

possession of the peninsula, which they had long coveted, and that this occupation accounts for the change on the maps. This is a very reasonable supposition. The colonists were looking for a suitable place for settlement, and what more natural than that they should avail themselves of this fertile peninsula not far distant from Roanoke, where by an alliance with a friendly people they would be comparatively safe from molestation by tribes who were inimical to them. Later they moved toward the west, and in Smith's time may have been at Ocanahonan.

Two interesting questions now arise. What became of the Croatoans? and if any of the colonists intermarried and mixed with them, are any traces of such miscegenation now to be discovered?

With regard to the first question:—a tribe of Indians is now living in the state of North Carolina, who have been officially recognized as Croatoan Indians. The traditions of these Indians point to migrations from more eastern settlements. When these removals took place is not known, though it is probable that their last removal was from the Black River, in Sampson County, some time during the seventeenth century. In 1732 there was a grant of territory made to two of their number, Henry Berry and James Lowrie.

These names will be noticed later on. These Indians have always been migratory, and branches of them are to be found in places far remote from the main body of the tribe. Lawson, the historian of Carolina, who knew them in 1709, tells us that they claimed to have formerly lived on Roanoke Island.

Let us now consider the second question, whether the modern Croatoans show traces of English blood. Their color varies greatly, some being very dark and others almost white. Those in whom Indian blood seems to predominate are beardless, while those who show a preponderance of white blood are bearded. A recent traveller among them thus describes one of these remarkable people: "Where in my life had I seen a handsomer man? The face was pure Greek in profile, the eyes steel blue, the figure of perfect mould, and the man as easily graceful in his attitude as any gentleman in a drawing-room. I sat in my buggy



CROATOAN GIRL, 12 YEARS OF AGE.

talking with this man for an hour, finding him far above ordinary intelligence and full of information." They were long classed as mulattoes, and denied the right of franchise on the ground that they were free persons of color; but this designation they greatly resented, and refused to allow their children to be educated in negro schools. In 1885, however, this ban was removed, and they were provided with separate schools, and forbidden as white citizens were from intermarriage with negroes. They possess schools and churches, have quick intellects, and show a greater capacity for improvement



BEST SPECIMENS OF CROATOANS
IN VIRGINIA.



they found a powerful tribe of Indians cultivating the soil with slave labor and speaking the English language.

The Croatoans of to-day claim to be of English and Indian descent, and are proud of this mixed ancestry. Some of them, however, show plainly a mixture of negro blood. They claim to have come originally from Roanoke, and that one of their chiefs was lord of that region and visited England. But the strongest evidence of their

than other tribes. Senator Revels of Mississippi was a Croatoan, a native of North Carolina. The Croatoans are hospitable, cleanly in habit, and, unlike other Indians, are skilful road builders. One of their roads is known to have been in use for over a century, and is still used.

If we examine the evidence of travellers among them in the past, we shall find further support to the theory that the Croatoans carry in their veins the blood of the lost colony. Lederer, a German explorer, in 1669, speaks of them as bearded men, whom he supposes to be Spaniards, because Indians never have beards. Nearly forty years later, the Rev. John Blair speaks of them as a very civilized people; and Lawson, the historian of Carolina, already quoted, who was well acquainted with them, tells us that they claimed that "several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do,—the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being frequently found amongst these Indians and no others. They value themselves extremely for their affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices." Lawson believed that these people were descendants of the lost colony, and says: "We may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with the Croatoan Indians for relief and conservation, and that in process of time they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relatives; and thus we see how apt human nature is to degenerate;" while a tradition of the early settlers in North Carolina is that

English origin is found in their names and in the presence of certain old English words among them. We have spoken of Henry Berry and James Lowrie, to whom a grant of land was made in 1732. Among the names of persons composing the lost colony appear the names of Henry and Richard Berry and Charles Florrie, the last certainly suggestive of Lowrie. The following names are also found among them, identical with names of the lost colonists, namely, White, Bailly, Dare, Cooper, Stevens, Sampson, Harvie, Howe, Johnson, Cage, Jones, Willis, Brooke, Taylor, Butler and many others.

Finally, to quote Professor Weeks on their linguistic peculiarities. He says: "They begin their salutations with 'mon-n-n,' i. e., man. Their traditions usually begin, 'Mon, my fayther told me that his fayther told him,' etc. They retain the parasitic (glide) *y*, which was an extremely common development in Anglo-Saxon, in certain words, through the palatal influence of the previous consonant, pronouncing cow as cyow, cart as cyart, card as cyard, girl as gyirl, kind as kyind. The voiceless form whing is retained, instead of the voiced wing. They have but two sounds for *a*, the short *a* being changed into *o* before nasals, and representing Anglo-Saxon open *o* (*ö*) in mon. They use the northern lovand in place of the later hybrid loving. The Irish fayther is found for father. The dialectical Jeams is found in place of James. They regularly use mon for man; mension for measurement; aks for ask; hit for it; hosen for hose. Crone is to push down; and knowledge is wit."

bestowed upon the region in these people, which embraces thousand acres and is located the eastern portion of the state Carolina, is Scuffletown; hence are locally denominated Scuf-

Many of them are still wild, and being of mixed blood, it regarded with much favor by neighbors; indeed it has been that the title of Croatoans was upon them for political pur—that they are all descendants of famous outlaw, James Lowrie, a son, it is claimed, was the son of James Lowrie, by one of his slaves. Being manumitted by him it is said that he married an Tuscarora Indian woman, Mary, and, about the year 1769, moved to the region in which they now principally reside. A researcher has traced with some minute immediate descendants of James Lowrie, telling us that two of his three children, one a white and another a Tuscarora woman, while a third married a Portuguese, and hence the physical peculiarities of these are derived from this intermixture of African, Caucasian, Indian and Portuguese blood. But he presses too far when he ascribes to these certain traits common to certain negro every people, — namely a

fondness for fishing and hunting, cunning and pilfering propensities, a love of ease, licentiousness, and a respect for woman. Though among the Croatoans may be found descendants of James Lowrie, and though it may hereafter be proved that he was the son of a judge of that name, the descent of this entire people from the famous outlaw will still remain unproved, — indeed, one may safely opine, will ever so remain; and the more romantic and less improbable theory, that they carry the blood of Raleigh's lost colonists in their veins, will continue to excite speculation.

Let us carry this theory to a conclusion. Twenty years after White left his colony at Roanoke, the Jamestown colonists arrived. During this twenty years the lost colonists had commingled with the Croatoans and were living on the peninsula of Dasamonguepeuk. When news of the settlement at Jamestown reached them, a party set out to visit them, probably composed of but a small number of the original colonists, and were intercepted and a number of them slain by Powhatan's men, the rest finding refuge with a neighboring tribe, perhaps related to the Croatoans; and subsequently the Croatoans, now having among them a considerable number of people bearing English blood, migrated westward to their present home in North Carolina. If all this is true, a problem of history has been solved.



THE MUNICIPALITY, OLD AND NEW.

By James Phinney Baxter.



SOME time ago the writer received a New Year's card bearing this inscription: "The 765th Mayor of Truro, Silvanus Trevail, wishes you a happy prosperous New Year." To as replied: "The thirty-second of Portland, Maine, returns eting of the 765th Mayor, and wishes him a continu-happiness and prosperity." 55th mayor of Truro! What this implies!—and what at it should have such a his- is a town in the west division all, situated at the confluence vers Kenwyn and St. Allen. g to a charter granted in the Elizabeth, it would appear that r of Truro was also the mayor outh, the old name of the city und, by which name its cus-strict is still denominated. sideration of such municipal stimulates curiosity; and a dy of early English municip-ty may be interesting. f the insurmountable difficul- h the early municipal authori- to deal with grew out of the of ownership. A town might e the king, or to a noble, or to h; or it might have a divided p. A town belonging to the oyed greater freedom than one g to a noble whose domicile iguous to it, while a town a divided ownership was al- a turmoil. It might be sup- at a town under the control hurch would enjoy unusual s, that brotherly love would rough its borders such an at- e of warmth and light that i prosperity would find there ial abode; but alas! such the case. Royal rule was

far less oppressive than ecclesiastical. Before considering this phase of the subject, however, it may be well to get a view of some of the conditions of an English citizen's life when Truro had reached its four hundredth mayor, or at a period about midway between its first and its present chief magistrate.

The poverty of the people, compared with that of the people of to-day in a prosperous New England city, was distressing; yet the English towns of that period were priding themselves on the great progress which they had made during the century past. The houses were small and almost bare of furniture; carpets were unknown; the wealthy covered their floors with rushes, which, being only occasionally renewed, became filthy and contaminated the air with offensive and unhealthy odors. Table knives and forks had not been invented, the fingers serving in their place. The towns had no system of sewerage, and the streets were almost impassable. Rubbish of all kinds was cast into them; piles of hot cinders and ashes from the foundries, and even the filth of butchers and keepers of swine. In one instance an enterprising tanner used a principal thoroughfare for his pits, and in another a miller, needing a peculiar kind of clay which he could not readily find elsewhere, dug a hole in the public highway so large that, becoming filled with water after a storm, a glove merchant with his horse fell into it and was drowned. The fact is preserved in the record of the miller's trial for murder; he was liberated, as it appeared that no malice was intended. So common was it for citizens who needed clay or sand to take it from the public thoroughfare, that in the city of Norwich an ordinance was passed forbidding citizens from digging sand in the market place. With little or no attention to drainage, the

wells of course became contaminated, and plagues occurred, which in some cases swept away half the population. To ward off sickness fires were built in the streets at night, it being popularly supposed that they destroyed the germs of pestilence.

As trade increased there was an improvement in the condition of English towns. Inns for the accommodation of travellers multiplied, and it would seem that competition was sharp, for lodgings with a feather-bed cost in Canterbury a penny, and an ordinance was passed that no inn-keeper should solicit a man to patronize his inn, but should leave him at liberty to choose any lodging he pleased. The American who lives in a land where food is so superabundant that he gives it no thought, is impressed to-day when he travels in Europe, with the economy of food; but it is but natural that some of the old economy should be inherited by the descendants of men to whom a sufficiency of daily food was a blessing worthy of devout thanksgiving. To render food attainable by the citizens of a town, the most stringent laws were enacted to prevent extortion. The prices of provisions and the profit permitted to the seller were fixed by law, to exceed which was punishable by fine and imprisonment. Thus, dealers in corn were allowed to charge but a penny profit on a bushel; the innkeeper, a half a penny on a feed of hay, and two pence on a gallon of wine. Forestalling the market was a grave offense. Jacobs, in his work on English law, says: "All endeavors to enhance the common price of any victuals or merchandise, and practices which have an apparent tendency thereto, are highly criminal by the common law — and so jealous is the common law of practices of this nature, that it will not suffer corn to be sold in the sheaf before threshed; for by such sale the market is in effect forestalled." To buy provisions in large quantities with the intent to sell *in at a profit* was dignified by the *engrossing*, and was a criminal

offense. One of the most important duties of a mayor was to see that these laws were stringently enforced. The temptation to evasion was as great as in the case of the prohibitory law of our day; nor were mayors and bailiffs always above reproach, for they sometimes winked at evasion and profited thereby.

The first duty of a new mayor after his installation was to fulfill his oath of office, by which he was obliged to keep in the narrow path of rectitude all the cooks, brewers, innkeepers, bakers, and other tradespeople within his jurisdiction. He at once issued summonses to them to appear before him at the guild-hall. The coal dealers appeared, and he examined their measures and inquired into their methods; the bakers, who wrangled with him about the proper size of their loaves and the quality of the wheat which they used; the brewers, whose ale and measures he examined; the dealers in wool, coal, wood and other commodities. But his duty with these people did not end here. He was obliged to see that his ordinances were respected; hence he made frequent perambulations about the town, keeping a sharp eye upon the traders, and especially upon brewers, with whom, being a "refractory people," he often spent considerable time, observing how they dispensed that prime necessity of life, beer, to their customers, — tasting the different qualities, that dispensed to the poor as well as to the rich, to be sure that the poor man's beer was not below the standard and that he had good measure; for neglect of this important duty would have speedily rendered him unpopular. The mayor of the 16th century found his office no more of a sinecure than one finds it now in the 19th. It is amusing to note the agitating questions which were constantly coming up to vex him, quite like the questions of to-day, which, springing suddenly from obscure corners like jacks-in-the box, appear at first like new creations, but which closer observation shows to

same grinning imps which disfigure themselves on the stage of municipal affairs in the olden time. Provision has been made to the contrary of the streets in English cities. Highways between cities were in much worse condition. Rome for ages set the example of good road building; but England has not been inspired by it,—and with almost impassable roads, purses plentifully scattered along the way, a journey from one place to another was no tame affair.

The writer has recently had in his possession several original letters with endorsements upon them of the postmasters by whose stations they passed, showing the time of arrival at place. One of these letters stated that it left Plymouth on September 18, 1627, at eight o'clock P. M. by a special messenger, who was expected to haste for his life, as the messenger was an official one directed to the Secretary of State at London, and to deliver state news of great importance.

It reached Ivy Bridge, 11 miles from Plymouth, in about eight hours. Ashburton is 12 miles farther, but the time at which it arrived there is obliterated. At Exeter, 19 miles farther, it arrived at 12 o'clock on the night of the 19th, showing that 42 miles had been accomplished in about 28 hours. Exeter is about 16 miles from Exeter, Sherburn about 40 miles from Exeter; this 56 miles was accomplished in something over 35 hours. It arrived at 1 o'clock on the night of the 21st, at Bury, 16 miles from Sherburn, and reached Andover, about 32 miles farther, at past six o'clock on the night of the 22nd; while Basingstoke is about 46 miles from London, and reached at past one on the same night. Thus 164 miles had been accomplished in 89 hours. There is no endorsement to show the time it reached the secretary's hands, but it is only not earlier than the noon of the 23d, perhaps eight hours less than 24 days after leaving Plymouth, and is distant from London about

210 miles, making an average speed of less than two miles an hour; and this letter the secretary was informed was sent by the "runinge packet." One of these letters was marked "hast, hast, hast, hast, post hast." As a gentle encouragement to the postman was sometimes added to a similar endorsement the inspiring words, "Ryde for your lyfe"; or in case of great importance, "Ryde Villin! Rydel ffor your lyfel ffor your lyfel ffor your lyfel"

But to return to municipal affairs. The restrictions upon trade already described greatly limited the freedom of the citizen; but these restrictions were of minor importance when compared with the monopolies enjoyed by favored individuals. In process of time the exclusive privilege of dealing in almost every commodity was given to some court favorite, who usually divided his ill-gotten gains with his royal patron. A single instance in the reign of Charles I. will illustrate. Being pressed for funds, the king issued a proclamation that public carriages were a great disturbance to him, "his dearest consort the queen," and "the nobility and others of place and degree"; besides the proclamation declared that the pavements were broken by them, and that they made the price of hay and grain higher; therefore their use was prohibited in London and its suburbs, except to persons journeying out of the city a distance of not less than three miles. It was also commanded that no person should ride in a coach in the streets of London unless the owner kept four horses ready for the king's use when required. This proclamation of course caused great hardship to the owners of carriages and to people unable to possess private ones, and the discontent of the people was loudly expressed; whereupon the king issued another proclamation, out of "gracious consideration" to his suffering people,—that "finding it really requisite for our nobility and gentry, as well as for foreign ambassadors, strangers and

others, that there should be a competent number of hackney coaches allowed" for public use, he granted full power and authority to the Marquis of Hamilton, one of his favorites, to have control during life of all the public carriages in the kingdom, and to prescribe rules and fix such prices for their use as he thought proper. The number in London was limited to fifty coaches and sixty horses, but the number in other parts of England was left to the discretion of the Marquis. Of course this monopoly yielded a rich revenue, of which a large part was loaned to the royal beggar.

The guilds played an important part in municipal affairs, and often proved a very disturbing element. Originating at an early day, they drew together the merchants and manufacturers, who linked themselves together not only for defensive but for offensive purposes. The old theory was that the manufacturer and trader were public servants, and that the crown or municipality possessed the unquestioned right of regulating their dealings; that the municipality, when its charter was broad enough, could determine the percentage of profits, the limits within which wares could be sold, the hours and price of labor, in fact, every detail relating to production. The guilds themselves did not question the validity of this theory, and adopted the popular phrases, which involved repugnance to private gain as a motive to productive industry; but unregenerate human nature, behind this mask of self-abnegation, was as active as ever, and in spite of legal enactments asserted itself whenever and wherever it could; hence there was always a smouldering hostility between the consumer and the producer, which at times blazed out with furious energy. Popularly the producers were always in league with Satan against the poor people, who charged them all with not only palming off upon them bad wares, but with charging them unlawful profits. As to-day, so it was then: manufacturers and traders often

leagued together to advance prices,—but in the end were usually defeated.

We have heard threats of landlords closing their hotels and refusing to entertain guests on account of a strict enforcement of the prohibitory law. A similar condition of affairs occurred centuries ago. The price of Gascony wine was fixed, by which the profit was so greatly reduced that the dealers declared themselves unable to live by its sale. In one city the innkeepers closed their houses and refused to receive guests; whereupon the mayor caused them to be prosecuted for their "malignancy."

Stow, in his Survey of London, gives an account of nearly one hundred trades associations or guilds in London. These associations embraced every conceivable trade or industry: grocers, cutlers, pewterers, skimmers, bakers, brewers, saddlers, girdlers, and even paviors, gardeners, cooks, watermen, bowyers and fletchers,—the last two being makers of bows and arrows. The diversity of interests represented by so many associations led of course to frequent bickerings, and those whose trade was general, like the grocers and bakers, were often charged by those whose trade was special, like the skimmers and bowyers, with extortion.

Rivalries and jealousies among the guilds, however, did not prevent them from acting together when common interests were involved, and although they wielded the great influence which in time they came to possess for their own interests, they did much towards freeing Englishmen from the hard conditions which feudalism had imposed upon them.

The ownership of towns, I have said, was a troublesome question for the municipal authorities to deal with. The case of the city of Exeter furnishes a striking example. Exeter is situated on the river Exe, and is a city of great antiquity, having been a British town long before the Roman invasion. Exe island, near the town gates, and adjoining suburbs, belonged to the Earl of Devonshire, who controlled the

navigation of the river and levied duties on whatever commodities came within his jurisdiction, in fact, everything which came by water transportation to the city. Inside the town walls a considerable territory belonged to the bishop, this being walled and protected by a small army of idle followers, who held the hard-working citizens in contempt. Here then was a city divided into two portions, one of which was controlled by ecclesiastical power and the other by civil authority, while a portion of its suburbs was held by a rapacious nobleman. The result was a conflict which extended over centuries. The fight for independence began when the earl and bishop joined together in forestalling the market by buying up all the fish and leaving the citizens of the town without this necessary article of food. The mayor, who at this time was really dependent upon the earl and wore his livery, moved by the loud complaints of his people, demanded that they should have one-third of the fish in the market. The overbearing earl commanded the mayor to appear before him; and, followed by a concourse of his people making a great clamor, the latter proceeded to the earl's abode, where he removed his livery and returned it to the earl, as a token that he thenceforth renounced allegiance to the earldom of Devonshire. Returning to the guild-hall, an ordinance was passed that never again should a citizen of Exeter wear foreign livery. Suitable robes of office were thereupon adopted by the town, including the conventional mace, the proud emblem of municipal authority. The fight was now on, and was waged with varying fortunes between successive mayors, earls and bishops, until the city finally achieved its independence.

Among the most interesting periods of this conflict is that covered by the mayoralty of John Shillingford, whose interesting letters, among the earliest specimens of English private correspondence that exist, have been preserved to us by the Camden Society.

The editor of these letters tells that he found many of them "under the very tiles of the guild-hall roof, where," he says, "I rescued them from imminent destruction from damp"; and he regrets, as we all must regret, that so many of them were lost. Of Shillingford himself, he says, quoting Hooker: "This John Shillingford, the mayere, was a very wyse man and learned yn the Lawes of the Realme; bold and sturdie and yn his governement very just and upright, and so well he dyrected the same to the benefitts of the commonwelthe of this citie as few before hym dyd it better." Shillingford had among the people of Exeter the reputation of a patriot, and on a certain Michaelmas they elected him as their chief magistrate. Shillingford, however, declined the honor; but not to lose his services, they availed themselves of a law which enabled them to obtain a writ compelling him to accept the office or pay a fine of a thousand pounds. Finding it impossible to escape the service imposed upon him, he finally took the oath of office and assumed his duties, with the determination to do his best for the municipality over whose affairs he was so reluctantly forced to preside. This matter is preserved in the memorials of the city of Exeter in the following words: "that John Shillingford being elected and chosen to be Mayer for the yere dyd refuse to be sworne and to take th' office upon him, whereupon advertysment was made unto the King and Counsell, and then a write under the Privie Seale was directed and sent to the sayde John requiring and commaunding him upon the payne of one thousand powndes to take the office upon him and to exequite the same; who accordinglye upon the Moneday next after the Feaste of St. Valentyne, at too of the clocke of the afternone, came to the Gwyldhall, and there was sworne; and, thoughte at the first with an evell will, yet yn thende dyd performe it very well."

Heretofore a law-breaker had only to cross the street and take refuge in

the ecclesiastical portion of the town to be free from arrest, as a civil writ was not recognized by the ecclesiastical authorities; in fact, the appearance of one of the mayor's officers on the bishop's side of the division line was a signal for the officers of the latter to bestir themselves. Shillingford boldly adopted the theory that the bishop's claim was based upon a usurpation of rights belonging to the city from an ancient date, and in accordance with the fanciful methods of thought peculiar to the age he went back of written history to amusing traditions to support his postulate. Finally, however, after a long journey through unreliable chronicles, he came to more solid ground, namely, old rights granted by the crown before the bishop set up his imperium within the walls of Exeter. But the bishop denied the validity of Shillingford's arguments, as in duty bound, and continued to defy his authority in that part of the town claimed to be within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Shillingford, however, was equal to the occasion, and to the horror of the bishop's officers he boldly arrested several of them within the episcopal precincts; one while he was in attendance upon the bishop's chancellor, greatly to the admiration of the citizens upon one side of the line and greatly to the scandal of those on the other. It was now open war, and crimination and recrimination followed. If a fire occurred, it was charged by one party to the malice of the other. From the bishop's side, refuse was thrown into the way which gave access to the town walls, thereby interfering with the defence of the city. Thieves fleeing with their plunder from the mayor's officers were safe when they entered the bishop's precincts, within which not even the town coroner was permitted to perform his important office. Although it was necessary for mutual protection that proper watch should be maintained, and the city walls kept in repair, the bishop denied the right of municipal authority to levy taxes within his

precinct, which was a great hardship to the rest of the citizens.

There was but one method of reaching a solution to this unhappy condition of affairs, an appeal to a tribunal capable of enforcing its decrees; and the bishop took the initiative by petitioning "Unto the Ryght Reverend Fader yn God and Blessed Lord John Archebyssshop of Canterbury, Prymate and Chancellor of Engeland," setting forth the matters in contention as he conceived them "full mykely" and praying that the party in fault should be reported to the "Kyng oure soverayn lorde for the love of God and yn wey of Charyte." To meet this appeal Shillingford "rode fro Excetre on Fryday and cam to London on Tywysday by tyme at VII atte cloke; and thar labored to make answare to the articulus." Exeter is 159 miles from London, and he was about five days in making the journey. Shillingford evidently made a good impression upon the chancellor, and managed his side of the case with much skill. His quaint relations of his doings from day to day furnish curious pictures of the times almost unique in character. Poor, weak, selfish human nature exhibited itself then more unblushingly than to-day, but the family traits are still recognizable. There were men in power who had to be approached with delicate deference, egotistical men whose opinions could not safely be opposed, and others whose good will blossomed into florid affluence only under the stimulus of worldly benefits judiciously administered; hence Exeter needed a true patriot and skillful diplomatist to represent its interests in London, — and it had such a man in John Shillingford.

He had no easy task before him. The aptest students were employed to search ancient records for arguments to support the position he had assumed; the best lawyers were consulted for opinions upon delicate questions; the influence of men about the court was sought, and to men in au-

y pleasant paths were opened by
nts of rare fish, "stately pikerellis
stately tenche's," as well as more
ishable substantialities.

e bishop, however, was powerful
ad powerful friends at court; he
d the allegations of his opponent
explained away matters which
l not be disproved; and although
mpoverished townspeople upheld
mayor's hands to the best of their
y, it is easy to detect behind the
ous words which were bestowed
the amiable but strong-minded
ingford a discouraging note,
h he heard not or affected not to

Shillingford records with a
o which one can appreciate who
rstands the awe with which com-
ers in his day regarded the nobil-
ow his "gracious lordship seyde
e mayer II tymes Well come, and
IIIde tyme Right well come
er, and helde the mayer a grete
e faste by the honde and so went
to his barge and wt hym grete
se, lordes and other, and yn espec-
he tresorer of the Kynges house-
e"; and how he was "at Lambeth

my lorde at masse, and offered
andell, to my lord is blessed hond,
elyng adoun offeryng my candell.
lord with laghyng chere upon me
e hertely Graunt mercy Mayer,"

But all this was superficial, and
many meetings and much skillful
ing the case was compromised so
the bishop was given supreme rule
in the ecclesiastical precincts. No
n officer could enter to arrest a
efactor nor to collect taxes nor,
ed, for any other purpose. The
op, however, was to pay his pro-
ion of the expense of keeping the
n walls in repair, and the mayor
ld summon his tenants to perform
r part of the duty of keeping watch.
perhaps the most grateful conces-
to the municipal pride was the
it conceded to the mayor and his
iffs of carrying their maces even
o the sacred precincts from which
y had been so long excluded. This
indeed a triumph of no small

moment; but what perhaps was better
than all was peace for a season between
the warring factions. The "mills of
God" ground slowly indeed in the case
of Exeter, but the grist was finally
ground, and the "divine right" of
bishop and noble produced but chaff.

As with Exeter, so with other Eng-
lish cities. All had to deal with sim-
ilar problems, though in some cases
there were peculiar hardships. The
municipal authorities of Winchester,
for instance, had no control of their
own gates; one was held by the bishop,
and a powerful convent held the other
two, and could at any time admit an
enemy to the town. The bishop
closed the shops at will and made the
traders give him the lion's share of
their profits, which he divided among
his religious brothers. He also col-
lected tolls on merchandise coming to
the town by water, while the king's
officers levied a duty upon everything
brought by man or horse into the city.
The case of Canterbury was even
worse, as her ecclesiastical control was
more despotic than in either of the
cities named.

The city of London affords a study
of peculiar interest. We will not con-
sider the early history of the city,
which Chamberlain says was in A. D.
64, "famous for the number of its
merchants and the greatness of its
trade," but will confine our attention
to some of its municipal peculiarities.
No English city has preserved to our
day so many of its ancient character-
istics as the city of London. For cen-
turies it has never enlarged its area,
which is comprised within the narrow
limits of about a square mile, nor has
it greatly enlarged its population,
which at the present time is not far
from 40,000, about the same as that of
Portland, Maine. This small munici-
pality is divided into twenty-six wards,
and each ward is represented by an
alderman who holds office for life.
There are also two hundred and six
councilmen, who are elected annually.
The lord mayor is selected from the
aldermen, two of whom, who have

served as bailiffs, being selected by the London guilds for candidates, the choice from these being made by the aldermen. At the end of his term of office the mayor again assumes his former position, with the designation of a past alderman, and usually with "Sir" attached to his name. In the election of mayor and aldermen the people have practically no voice, the elections being controlled by the guilds.

The ancient guilds and their gradual assumption of power have been spoken of. While these associations have disappeared from most English cities, in London they flourish to-day with nearly their old-time power. There are still eighty of these guilds, nearly as many as in Stow's time, and, they having acquired large property interests, their annual income is said to be at least five millions of dollars. One of the largest of these guilds is the Grocers' Company, which has held its place in the business life of London for six centuries. At first the grocers were called pepperers, and when they assumed the name of grocers, or dealers en-gross, the title was extremely unpopular, owing to the stringent laws against engrossing, or purchasing commodities in large quantities for the purpose of reselling at advanced prices. They prospered, however, and to-day occupy a prominent place among the London guilds. The old halls occupied by these guilds are among the most interesting show places in London. Frequent banquets are held in them, upon which money is lavishly expended. It is estimated that at least half a million of dollars is annually expended by the various London guilds on banquets alone. Their political power for centuries has been supreme, and although frequent attempts have been made to reduce it, they still rule London as of old. They alone choose the aldermen and mayors, always, of course, from guild members. Previous to 1710, Stow records sixty-four

mayors who were of the Grocers' fellowship.

The mode of election is as follows. Annually on Michaelmas Day, the 29th of September, after attending church together in great state, the mayor and corporation assemble in the guild-hall, when the names of all the aldermen who have not served as mayor are presented to the corporation in rotation, and voted upon by upraising of hands. The names of the two having the largest show of hands are then presented to the aldermen, who determine by ballot which of the two persons whose names are submitted to them shall serve as mayor for the year. It may be said that no man can be voted upon if there is any blot upon his private character, or if he has failed to pay his debts pound for pound. After the election, the mayor and aldermen return to the hall and announce their choice, whereupon the successful candidate approaches and the chain of office is put around his neck. After expressing his thanks for the honor bestowed upon him, and receiving the title of the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor Elect, he is taken by the lord mayor in his state carriage to the Mansion House, to dine with the aldermen. On this his first ride in the state carriage, he is expected to fee the driver with a guinea, the postilion with half that amount, and the city trumpeters, who are in attendance, with a proportionate gratuity. It is necessary that his election should receive the approval of the crown, and so upon a certain day he proceeds to the lord chancellor's residence, accompanied by all the city officers in stately procession, where he is informed that royalty smiles upon the city's choice. On the evening of this day occurs his first banquet, when he dons his stately robes. On the 8th of November, after breakfast with the lord mayor, he takes the oath of office in the guild-hall, accepting the sword, the mace, the sceptre and the city purse, after which he returns with the lord mayor

the Mansion House, where they must give a banquet. He then goes to his private residence, in order to give the late mayor time to leave from the Mansion House. The next day is Lord Mayor's Day, when all the shops are closed and carriages are excluded from the thorough-roads through which the procession passes. At noon he sets out from the Mansion House in his much-vaunted coach, attended by the city officers and representatives of the various guilds in their carriages, and proceeds through the city to the court of Exchequer, to take the oath to defend and support the crown and to pay all the fines and fees of his office for the ensuing year. After this only the procession returns to the hall, which is reached about six o'clock, when another banquet, the grandest of the year, is given to the royal family, the ministers of state, the foreign ambassadors, and distinguished visitors from abroad. The cost of this banquet is from forty to fifty thousand dollars. It is etiquette for the king and queen to attend this banquet the first year after their coronation, when it costs much more.

Americans can hardly regard seriously the pomp and circumstance attending Lord Mayor's Day. It seems a far show, lacking in true dignity, and out of place in this age; when the old order of the guilds is broken, this medieval pageantry will no longer be valued.

As far as we have given attention to the government of London—that is, municipal government; but outside of the limits of the jurisdiction of the city government lies a greater London, a conurbation, containing a population of over six million. How was this city formed, and what has been, what is now, its government? The whole of the city of London, comprising within several counties, were a number of parishes, more than five hundred, each governed by its own officers, by county magistrates, by special and other instrumentalities, all

in a general way under the authority of Parliament, which happily could always be appealed to in cases of emergency. These parishes, as population increased, became to the eye one vast city, but their various systems of local government continued. The impossibility, under such a complex condition of affairs, of securing for the citizens of greater London anything like good government is apparent. How could it be possible, under such conditions, to work out those economic problems of municipal life so necessary in any great city? Each petty parish, tenacious of its own privileges and jealous of outside influence, refused to listen to any plan involving a general government of the entire metropolis; and perhaps none was more averse to yielding up any of its ancient prerogatives than the city itself, or rather the guilds which constituted it. There could be no unity of purpose between these diverse interests. No system of sewerage could be agreed upon and carried out; no proper arrangement or management of streets determined upon, nor in fact any comprehensive plan of improvements inaugurated. The citizens for generations clamored for a change in the disheartening conditions which surrounded them, but clamored in vain. Parish clerks and vestrymen and petty magistrates and other officials, who found their living in office, resisted strenuously any trespass upon their preserves. London citizens saw other cities throw off their fetters and adopt modern methods of government greatly to their prosperity, but their city was held by bonds which could not be loosed. The situation was almost appalling. Not an underground sewer was in existence prior to 1831, when London had a population larger than that of New York to-day, and twenty-five years later not a single large main had been constructed; nor was there a broad, well paved thoroughfare, like those in other European cities, in this great English metropolis. The wisest statesmen worked at the problem, and in 1888

made of greater London an administrative county, which comprehended within its limits an area of about one hundred and twenty-three square miles. But still it has no central administrative government, as the guilds have always refused consent to an extension of its government beyond the old city bounds, foreseeing what would be the inevitable result; nor will they listen to any interference with their power, which Parliament thus far has found it impossible to curtail.

But while the guilds still control the city, methods have been devised to secure for metropolitan London a reasonably good government. This dates really from 1855, when Parliament enacted what is known as the Metropolitan Management Act. This act divided the territory outside the old city into thirty-eight districts, by consolidating some of the smaller parishes; and while these districts were given power to elect their local government under a nearly uniform system, something like a central administrative body was provided by the creation of an administrative board of works, in which each district was entitled to one representative. In this board the old city was given three seats. In the few years of its existence the Metropolitan Board of Works, as it was denominated, wrought marvellous changes in the metropolis. To enumerate its achievements would be wearisome. It opened and paved great thoroughfares, built miles of embankment along the Thames, constructed magnificent bridges, laid out parks, built sewers, and in fact transformed London from a wretched and unhealthy place of abode into a city having reasonable pretensions to be denominated modern. In 1889, however, the Metropolitan Board of Works, owing to scandals connected with its management, came to an end, and was succeeded by a body known as the County Council, composed of men of high character and the widest experience. This council practically manages the affairs of the metropolis, under a complex

system, which, while subject to frequent changes, is constantly absorbing the authority heretofore exercised by the parishes.

While there is an undeniable consensus of opinion among the larger portion of the citizens of London that the entire metropolis, including the old city, should be under a single administrative government elected by the people, the guilds contend for a plan to divide it into a number of separate cities, each city to have its distinct government. The motive for this is apparent: a perpetuation of their ancient rights and privileges. The advocates of this plan point to Paris, which is divided into twenty *arrondissements*, or local administrative centers, each of which has its own *maire* and council. Together, these separate councils, each composed of four members, constitute the municipal council of Paris, at the head of which is the Prefect of the Seine. The time, however, cannot be far distant when the London guilds will be obliged to yield to the popular demand, and the sooner the better for the great English metropolis.

One thing, however, may be said in favor of the present government of the ancient city. Unlike our American cities, it affords no field for the exercise of what is popularly termed "bossism," that incubus which destroys municipal virtue and threatens the life of republican institutions. So common have charges of official corruption become in this country, that men who are careful of their reputations shrink from accepting municipal office, because they dislike assuming official robes which have attached to them even a suspicion of having been smirched. This wide-spread distrust exhibits itself in the prevalent disposition of our people to place larger powers in the hands of executive officers and heads of departments, who are more conspicuously responsible to electors. Undoubtedly there is danger of carrying the concentration of power too far. But the danger of numerous boards, with plenary adminis-

trative powers, involving the creation of debts, independent of the city council, or chief executive, is shown in various cities, shown especially in the municipal history of New York, which furnishes an instructive object lesson to the student of bossism. With scores of debt-creating agencies before him, the boss by skillful manipulation was enabled to effect combinations, which centered valuable patronage in his hands, and gave him practical control of the city. Tax-payers might complain, newspapers criticise, and pulpits denounce; secure in his position, the boss could vulgarly flaunt his wealth and coolly ask, "What are you going to do about it?"

Every city has its bosses, above all its chief boss, who exercises his pernicious power to the injury of the community in which he lives. He is a grasping, selfish and unscrupulous man, interested usually in large business schemes, with an attractive address, ever ready to conciliate when conciliation promises to be profitable, and when it does not so promise quite as ready to antagonize. Generous and frank, apparently, the easy-going world is prone to call him a good fellow, and languidly to refrain from interfering with his sugared schemes. But he is far from being "a good fellow"; he is a very bad fellow, injurious to the welfare of the community and worthy only of public contempt and execration, a man to be avoided by all who regard honesty as worth practicing. His nefarious business is not done in the public eye; he rarely appears as the artificer of his own schemes; he operates through men eager for place, and ever ready to serve the man who can help them on; often indirectly, through the best citizens in the community, who never dream that they are being used to put some tool in place to advance his far-reaching schemes. He has to help those who serve him, and sometimes interests himself in their schemes, often so petty and apparently useless to himself as to occasion surprise to those who observe them; but

one thing he keeps ever in view, his continual supremacy, everything being bent to secure this. If a candidate for the council is put forward by the citizens of a ward, whom he knows he cannot reach by influence, he makes no open opposition; but to the surprise of the candidate and his friends, someone, whom they have hardly thought of, is nominated by the caucus and elected by the votes of the defeated candidate and his friends, who do not suspect that they are serving the boss. Or if unexpectedly to him some well known citizen comes into prominence as a candidate, whose independence of character he fears, and he finds it impossible successfully to stay the popular tide, he cheerfully falls into the current and renders efficient aid in the election; but he looks out to have a sufficient number of his creatures in place to hamper the independent officer's movements and to prevent him from carrying out measures for the public welfare which are likely to interfere with his control. This is no fancy portraiture. It is a sketch from the living model, easy of recognition; a counterpart may be found in every city of respectable magnitude.

It is impossible at the present time to glance back as we have been doing at old municipal conditions without thinking of municipal conditions here in America now, and we shall certainly be pardoned for such a transition at this point.

An astute observer has remarked that it is not the ignorant foreigner who is so much to be feared in American cities as the intelligent and prosperous native with a penchant for politics; and this is undoubtedly true, although the ignorant foreigner, it must be remembered, is a dangerous tool ever ready for use. The most deadly weapon is harmless in the hands of a lover of his kind, but a menace to life in the hands of an assassin. The fact is, the ignorant foreigner and the intelligent boss are both a menace to public prosperity. The boss, however, is the more dan-

gerous of the two, as has recently been sharply demonstrated before all American eyes that can see; and the important question is how to rid our politics of this parasite, so dangerous to popular government.

Politicians of a certain class contend that we cannot get on without the boss—that he is necessary in order to keep in hand and direct party movements. Certainly party organization is essential to party existence; and party organization demands efficient organizers,—but above all, patriotic ones. Political parties are supposed to exist for the advancement of the public welfare. They have no other warrant for existence; no partisan would venture publicly to deny this. What folly then to permit them to be controlled by men who, as is well known, subordinate public interests to their own. Yet this is what we are continually doing with a complacency that is amazing. A few self-constituted managers of a self-constructed machine furnish us with candidates ready made, who make or mar as their masters direct. But how are we to get rid of the boss, it will be impatiently asked. Remove beyond his reach the instruments which he employs. Our present system of ward elections affords the boss the precise opportunities suited to the exercise of his bad talents. The municipal council, for instance, is composed of members elected not by the votes of the community whose affairs they are chosen to administer, but by small constituencies, limited by arbitrary lines. This system we might well believe was devised for the especial advantage of bossism and to prevent the will of the majority from finding expression, did we not recognize it as a relic of the guild period, of which we have already taken some account, and which still flourishes in old London. Take for example a city divided into seven wards, with a voting population of 8,000, of which 4,200 are republicans and 3,800 democrats. Five of these wards we will suppose to have a ma-

jority of republicans on a full vote; while wards 2 and 4 have a larger democratic majority than the adjoining wards. Here is an opportunity for the gerrymander, so successful in the hands of a skillful manipulator. Ward 2 can easily spare some of its voters to ward 1 or 3, and ward 4 to 3 or 5, enough to turn the scale in two of them in favor of the democrats. This would give four wards to the democratic party and secure its ascendancy in a city with a legitimate republican majority of 400; and yet our theory of government is insistent upon the supremacy of the majority, a theory which is being constantly set at naught by the political manipulator.

Says Mr. Foulke: "Popular government as we know it to-day is government by political parties. The men who think alike will naturally act together. The union of these constitutes a party; and yet this district system, while it often forces men artificially into parties with the principles of which they do not agree, also prevents in many cases the normal and healthy union of those who think alike and desire to vote for the same candidate. These are now separated from each other by arbitrary district lines and are prevented from acting together. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company is a corporation whose road passes through many districts and several states. What would we think of a rule dividing the stockholders by geographical lines and prohibiting those residing in different districts from voting for the same directors, although the chief intents and purposes of all the stockholders are not sectional but common to every part of the road?" Such an antiquated and vicious system should no longer be tolerated in a country which believes in progress, and especially in majority rule. Ours is a representative government, and it is manifestly desirable that all should be as fairly represented as practicable; hence the wide-spread interest in proportional representation. Much has been written upon it and

many plans in its favor proposed. Several of these plans have been put into practice with excellent results. The simplest is of course the best, and this seems to be the one adopted by the Municipal League of Boston, which was endorsed long ago by the late President Garfield and has received the earnest support of some of the most practical men of the country irrespective of party affiliations. This plan has been entitled the Free List System, and has proved most successful in Switzerland, where it has been in full operation for a number of years. The principal advantage of this system over others is its simplicity. Under it, the voter who has used the Australian ballot would find no difficulty, as he would only have to make a mark against the candidates of his choice. The great advantages secured by this system are derived from the election of candidates on a general ticket and the manner of counting the votes. The Swiss system involves the abolition of ward or district lines, and provides that each voter shall have as many votes as there are persons to be elected, one vote only of course for each candidate, and that the votes shall be counted so as to apportion the candidates elected among the different parties in proportion to their respective votes, by taking them from their respective tickets in the order of their individual votes, the one having the largest number first, and the others following in order according to the number of votes received by them.

"The system," says Mr. Cooley, "allows the voters to maintain their party integrity in municipal affairs, and at the same time it allows the independent voters to break away from party control. While it does not necessarily free municipal affairs from party politics, it does free the citizens, and, being free, the citizens can do as they will regarding such matters." The elevation of the character of legislative assemblies must necessarily follow its adoption, since it destroys completely the occupation of the ward heeler and

makes the pathway of the politician who goes into ward politics for what he can make a difficult road to travel. It has long been complained that many of our city governments are almost wholly composed of men unfit in every way to manage large business affairs, men who have never had business experience and have no property interests in the municipality, the finances of which they control. The Common Council of the City of Boston in 1893 was composed of seventy-five members, fifty-nine of whom paid only a poll tax. Now it is not for a moment to be urged that a man because he pays only a poll tax should be debarred from holding the office of a city councilor. All classes of citizens under a republican form of government should be represented, but while there may be men who only pay a poll tax eminently qualified to serve in a city government, will not every fair minded man admit that fifty-nine is altogether too large a proportion of poll-tax men to serve in a council of seventy-five, which has the control of the taxes on property valued at over nine hundred millions of dollars? Some interesting facts in the government of Boston appear from a report made of expenditures for carriage hire and refreshments in 1893,—a report before me as I write. One alderman, whose personal carriage hire during his whole life had never probably amounted to twenty-five dollars, expended for this luxury \$1,922, and two others nearly as large a sum. The members of the common council did somewhat better, their expenditures for carriage hire and refreshments being but a little over \$20,000. Many of the men who lavished hundreds of dollars of the city's money for carriage hire and refreshments, it is said, never possessed at one time a hundred dollars of their own; and these men were chosen to administer the affairs of a great municipality, involving the interests of her merchant princes, her bankers and manufacturers—all her great financial and industrial institutions. Was

ever 'greater folly perpetrated in the name of equality and democracy? Does not this sort of thing accuse us of lack of common sense in municipal politics — and are we in a position to laugh at things in old English cities recounted in the preceding pages?

That the system of proportional representation has "come to stay" in the world may be safely affirmed. It is in the line of progress, and furnishes the only just method of representation. How rapidly will American cities adopt it, and place themselves in the line of progress? We talk glibly of our popular government; but practically it allows but partial representation. The fact is, we are living under the tyranny of a minority, and this leads to that indifference which on an important election day not long ago caused nearly six-tenths of the voters in one street of an American city to remain away from the polls. There is need enough for some change. But while proportional representation is of the first importance in securing good municipal government, we should not lose sight of other necessary reforms. A city government is a corporation, and the administration of its affairs should be guided by the highest moral and business principles, with exact justice to all its members; and the simpler its form of government the better. Our present bicameral system is cumbrous, and leads to many abuses. Charles Francis Adams well declares it to be the source of much of our bad legislation. Mr. Francis B. Reeves of Philadelphia, an eminent authority on the subject of municipal government, affirms "that the incompetent administration of Philadelphia's business affairs is largely due to the fact that we have two legislative bodies, the members of which are elected from thirty-seven different wards, and therefore entirely without responsibility to the citizens at large. Almost every councilman thus elected openly confesses that he *represents only his immediate constituents, and is bound to get all he can*

for his ward out of the public treasury." Says Dr. Newman Smyth: "We have clumsily copied in our municipalities our forms of national government, or we have grafted city governments upon town roots"; and Albert Shaw pertinently remarks of our present form of city government that it affords "grand opportunities for the game of hide and seek." Everyone who has occupied the mayor's chair in a large city knows how much the public business would be facilitated by having a single body to deal with it. Ex-Mayor Matthews in his valedictory address to the City Council of Boston, alluding to the form under which it operated, said: "This, in my opinion, should be reconstructed by abolishing the present bicameral system, and substituting a single legislative body. This body should be larger than the present Board of Aldermen, but not so large as to become unwieldy and liable to degenerate into a debating society. The scheme which has seemed to me on the whole most desirable, and which has been advocated on other occasions, is to establish a single legislature of twenty-four or twenty-seven men, elected at large, eight or nine each year for a three years' term."

But it is unnecessary to multiply authorities in favor of a single board, to which a few stereotyped objections have been made, easily disposed of. One of these is, that two bodies cannot be so readily controlled by the politician as one. Anyone who has had experience knows that the best measure may be defeated by the boss, through the control of a majority of the smaller board, say four votes in a board of seven, and even a smaller number when there is a small minority of the opposite party to which he belongs, and which, having no control of legislation, is ever ready to cast its votes to help an opponent in order to secure a prospective reciprocal favor. With a single body of larger size the difficulty of securing control would be

much greater. But one body, it is urged, serves as a check upon the other. If it so serves, it is in the direction of interference with good legislation rather than with bad. If hasty legislation is feared from a single body, the danger is easily provided for by second readings of important measures, with sufficient intervals for newspaper publication and general discussion. A single council can but result in getting a larger number of men of character and ability to serve as councilors. A council of fourteen or twenty-one, having full power of legislation, with all the responsibility attaching to it, will attract men who now hold aloof from municipal office; and this is perhaps the most important advantage to be secured. We can never have good municipal governments without good men, men of character and ability.

We need in municipal matters as able men as we need to manage our large financial, business and educational institutions. The poor man is quite as much interested in good government as the rich, even more in need of good schools, good sanitation, and good streets, for he is confined more closely to his environment than the latter, and he needs broad-minded and competent men to represent him. How can such men be secured? First, by making municipal office as honorable as possible, by lifting it above party politics, and by impressing upon every citizen the truth that it is a duty to render reasonable service to the community in which he lives when called upon to do so.

In the municipality, party should be ignored. In the state and nation, where conflicting policies must necessarily come into discussion, parties find a proper field of activity; but in a city the questions which hold parties together, like the tariff, the currency, socialism, do not exist. It is a business affair, and the best men of both parties should unite in selecting the best men to do the public business. This is entirely practicable, and it would at once

elevate the character of municipal office.

The duty of citizens to render official service when demanded is to be enforced. European cities are far in advance of us in civic morals. In Germany the privilege of franchise is regarded as something too precious to be neglected; to fail to perform civic duties subjects a man to the loss of civic rights. The conviction prevails that every citizen owes service to the city in which he lives, as well as to his country. Municipal office is honorable, and the most honorable men are sought upon whom to bestow official honors. It may be inconvenient for the person selected to accept the office tendered him; but should he refuse he is not only deprived of his precious privilege of voting, which is a serious injury to his standing as a citizen, but he is compelled to submit to an increase of taxation, — just as Shillingford was in Exeter over three centuries ago. Shall we not be obliged to resort to a similar law if citizens continue to neglect their civic duties? Should not neglect of suffrage be punished by fine? We are told of a street in New York in which a large majority of the voters are educated and wealthy, over half of whom did not vote in an election involving questions of great public interest. The man who absents himself from the polls with the frivolous excuse that his vote will do no good, or that "everything has been cut and dried in the caucus," is not a patriotic American citizen. He should attend the caucus and try to nominate a good man, and, failing, should vote for the best man nominated, — and there are usually some good candidates.

It has been remarked that a municipality is a business corporation, and its affairs, involving the care and expenditure of large sums of money, should be managed like those of other business corporations. If this is true, the mayor, who is its head, should have large powers and large responsibilities.

ties, and should have a longer term of office than is common at present. No business corporation would think of hampering its manager with rules which would prevent him from deciding business questions requiring prompt action, nor would it be considered wise if it changed its manager every year or two, and with him its business policy; yet this is what the stockholders in our municipal corporations do, with a complacency which would be laughable were it not fraught with such perilous consequences to the community.

The whole trouble with modern municipal government is due to a false theory respecting it. Instead of regarding it as an institution to advance the public welfare, and demanding, in order to secure the best results, the best talents available, thousands of our people seem rather to look upon it as an arena in which men may legitimately strive for personal advantage, leaving the people outside to look on and applaud their favorite champions,

while their own interests suffer. Shall we not have some true and more serious thinking upon this important subject? It would seem as if the hour had struck for it. Good sense demands that civil service rules of the most advanced character should be applied to the employment of all labor by city governments, and that in the various municipal departments promotion for merit should be practiced, while such offices as those of treasurer, clerk, auditor, city engineer and some others should not be changed without good cause. Though municipal management in this country is to-day so far from what it ought to be, may we not hope that America, which in so much is quicker to see and to act than the older nations, will yet furnish to the world the best model of municipal government? Let none of us who believe in America and believe in municipal progress be content, whatever discouragements and defeats we encounter, to hold any smaller hope or any lower aim.

SEEKETH NOT HER OWN.

By Mary Seabury Lothrop.

WHEN one has learned love's heaven to resign,
 And brave a life grown tragically gray,
 Upon the long, unsheltered, rugged way
 A light of wondrous sweetness oft doth shine.
 What though the soul thou lovest ne'er be thine?
 It may be thine to minister some day,
 To give thy life, while holding tears at bay;
 And in thy heart will bloom a joy divine.

Oh, it were sweet to journey hand in hand
 With one of kindred mind, and feel the tie—
 Each day's acquaintance adding a new strand—
 Grow strong as cables! Yet should fate deny
 This happiness, love still! That love is grand,
 Which lives to bless when it were sweet to die.

*With the compliments
of
J. P. Baxter*

Raleigh's Lost Colony

BY

J. P. BAXTER

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Inaugural Address

OF

Hon. James P. Baxter, Mayor,



Portland, Maine. . . .

_____ MARCH 11th, 1895.

CITY OF PORTLAND.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

Hon. Jas. P. Baxter, Mayor,

MARCH 11, 1895.



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1895.

ADDRESS
OF
Hon. JAMES P. BAXTER, Mayor.

Gentlemen of the City Council:—

It is my privilege to submit to you my third inaugural address, and in doing so it behooves me to congratulate you and the citizens of Portland upon the prosperity which we have enjoyed during the past year, the end, I hope, or nearly so, of the business disturbances which have prevailed throughout the country. While these disturbances have caused great loss and suffering to many of our American cities, Portland has been so situated as to have hardly felt the agitation which has prevailed beyond her borders. Her manufacturers are fairly employed, her merchants solvent, and her financial institutions enjoy the confidence of the community, a condition altogether gratifying. The financial credit of the city during the year is exemplified by the low rate of interest at which it has been able to negotiate loans, its last temporary loan having been negotiated at the rate of two per cent., the lowest which has ever prevailed. You will see by the treasurer's report, that the public debt has been decreased during the year \$19,917, leaving after deducting assets, a net debt of \$1,326,881.73.

In accordance with a recommendation in my last inaugural, an attempt was made to dispose of a portion of the city's holdings in the Portland & Ogdensburg railroad. A satisfactory bid, however, was not obtained, and the stock was withdrawn from the market. There will fall due within the period beginning March 1st, 1896 and ending July 1st, 1897, bonds to the amount of \$545,000, and if a satisfactory price

can then be obtained for this stock it will, in my opinion, be wise to dispose of at least a sufficient portion to liquidate these bonds. As I have before had occasion to remark, the securities held by the city should be sold to pay the public debt whenever a satisfactory price can be obtained.

TUKEY'S BRIDGE.

A year ago I called attention to the demand made upon the City by the United States Government for the construction of a suitable draw to Tukey's Bridge, which would involve the building of a new bridge. A careful study of the subject by the city engineer, with other engineers of eminent talent, has developed an entirely new plan, which may prove worthy of adoption. This is to make a solid fill at both ends, leaving an opening of sufficient width for a draw, with tide gates to enclose the waters of Back Bay, permitting but a slight ebb and flow of the tide. If this proves to be feasible it will greatly improve the appearance of the unsightly and unhealthy mud flats in that vicinity, and the approach to the bridge, as the high banks at the head of Washington street can be graded and beautified. By this plan the costly repairs, which have to be constantly made to the roadway of a bridge composed of planking, will be avoided. Should this plan commend itself to Major Heap, the present incumbent of the United States Engineer's office, a government survey will probably be ordered, and new plans made, which will defer the work until another year. If the state of the city's finances permit, you may deem it wise to make an appropriation this year, as the beginning of a fund to carry out such plans as may finally be adopted.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The reports of the superintendent and supervisors of schools will show you that the educational interests of the city have not been neglected. Our schools are in a flourishing condition, and provided with able teachers. That our citizens have a high regard for our public schools is evinced by the liberal appropriation made for their support, which is about one-eighth of the appropriations made for all purposes.

During the winter, owing to the prevalence of contagious diseases, several of our schools were temporarily suspended in order to give them a thorough cleansing and fumigation. There is good reason to believe that our present system of supplying books for the use of pupils is a fruitful cause of spreading infectious diseases. Passing from hand to hand, these books not only become filthy, but if disease exists in the school, they furnish a ready means of conveyance, and as they cannot be thoroughly disinfected, they are a constant menace to the health of our children. If a bill which is to be presented to the legislature permitting parents to furnish books for the exclusive use of their children becomes a law, it is to be hoped that all parents, who have a proper regard for the health of their families, will avail themselves of its provisions. Complaints have been made, personally and through the public press, that some of our school buildings are not kept in a sufficiently clean condition. It is the duty of the janitors to keep the buildings under their care clean at all times, and, if my recommendation with respect to the Superintendent of Public Buildings be adopted, it will be well to make it one of his duties to supervise the work of the janitors.

THE MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL

has now been in operation for two years, and has proved successful beyond the hopes of its warmest friends. Not only are the pupils deeply interested in it, but many of the teachers in other branches of education testify, that the instruction imparted by it tends to increase the proficiency of their pupils in other studies. The school is fortunate in possessing excellent instructors, fully competent to place it in the front rank of schools of this kind. I especially recommend to your attention that portion of Mr. Allan's interesting report relating to this school, and the extension of kindred training to girls.

THE SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF,

under the able management of Miss Taylor, has considerably increased in numbers and efficiency. The want of a dormi-

tory for the pupils has long been felt by the friends of the school. The children are scattered about the city in private families, and lose the benefit of the intercourse which they might have with their teachers if domiciled under a common roof. Moreover, they are liable to unpleasant experiences on their way to and from school, owing to their inability to communicate with those with whom they come in contact. The necessity for a dormitory near the school seemed to me to be so pressing, that I thought it best to bring the matter before the attention of the Legislative Committee on Education, and with the able assistance of Mr. Allan, Mr. Brownson, Mr. Bradley, and the Superintendent of Schools, a favorable report was secured, and I am happy to state that a bill making an appropriation of \$16,000 has passed the House and Senate, and that we may look forward with confidence to the possession of a convenient dormitory at the commencement of the fall term. The pupils of this school have had since the beginning of the autumn term, the advantages of manual training, and have taken a deep interest in it. In addition to this instruction, they have been given an opportunity to learn certain trades, by placing them for a portion of each day in industrial establishments. Two of the boys are at present in a blacksmith's shop; two more in a shoemaker's shop; three are learning carpentry; one the trade of a painter; one of a candy-maker; one of a saddler, and another of a shoemaker. Nor are the girls forgotten, several being employed in learning dressmaking and millinery. These children are not only acquiring an education, but when they leave the school will do so with a fair prospect of being self-supporting and self-respecting citizens, instead of burdens upon public charity. The anticipated increase of the appropriation for the support of this school, to which I referred in my last inaugural, has been granted, and I see no good reason why the deaf school may not soon become one of the permanent institutions of the state.

During the past year considerable interest has been taken in military training by some of the pupils in the High School. Upon application by the principal, seventy-five cadet rifles

were purchased by the city for their use, and the beneficial effect of military drill is apparent in the improved physical appearance of the young men who have availed themselves of it. It would be well if all the pupils of this school could enjoy the benefit to be derived from judicious physical training.

THE EVENING SCHOOLS,

as you will see by the accompanying reports, have been well attended. Their usefulness cannot be questioned by any one acquainted with the work which they perform. Unfortunately, the city possesses no rooms suitable for their accommodation. The rooms occupied by them in the basement of the city building are small and inconvenient, and, if the schools are continued, more generous quarters should be provided.

My recommendation with respect to extending Kindergarten instruction in the public schools was well received by the preceding city council, which granted an appropriation therefor. We now have three flourishing Kindergarten schools, which I trust you will deem it wise to continue.

As you will notice, the officer appointed to search out neglected children has done effective service, and by his exertions has brought a considerable number within the beneficial influence of the schools. I also call your attention to the report of the Superintendent of School Buildings, by which you will see that but a small expenditure for repairs will be necessary for the present year. In closing this subject, I wish to call attention to the importance of the Public Library to the public schools. By a vote of the managers, the librarian has been instructed to select upon previous notice, such books as may be required by pupils who are studying special subjects, and it is hoped, that many will avail themselves of the advantages thus freely offered them.

THE REPORTS OF THE OVERSEERS OF THE POOR AND THE CITY PHYSICIAN

show the care which has been bestowed upon those unfortunates who are obliged to depend upon public charity. During the year, the attention of the Council was called to the

condition of the almshouse and hospital building, and a special committee was appointed to consider the advisability of purchasing a farm in the suburbs and erecting thereon more suitable buildings. It was argued, that the property at present occupied by the almshouse and hospital, could be disposed of for a sum sufficient to provide better accommodations for the poor, and that buildings which might be erected thereon would augment the tax list. As this subject, I understand, is likely to be brought to your attention, it seems proper for me to express the opinion, that the time has hardly arrived for such a move. The argument is good, but as the property is increasing in value, it will, in the near future, be better, and then a removal can be more wisely made. I would advise that none but absolutely necessary repairs be made on the present buildings, unless it is decided to permanently maintain them where they are.

By the accompanying

REPORT OF THE CHIEF ENGINEER

of the Fire Department you will see how effectively this department is organized. Although there have been nearly one hundred alarms during the year, the loss by fire has been exceedingly small, the total loss estimated from property destroyed exceeding the amount of insurance paid only \$1366. The addition to the department of a first class fire boat removes the cause for anxiety, which has long been felt by those owning property on our water front, and greatly strengthens the department. Your attention is called to the recommendations of the chief engineer, who, with the committee, have rendered the city faithful and efficient service.

THE REPORT OF THE CITY ELECTRICIAN

gives in detail the work accomplished in this important department, and your attention is called to the recommendations made by him. In accordance with a petition from citizens dwelling in the vicinity, that an alarm bell be placed on Portland street, in the vicinity of Mellen street, the subject was considered at a recent meeting of the committee on

electrical appliances, and it was decided to recommend the erection of an alarm on the northerly side of Portland street, within the Park. A plan has been made for an ornamental and inexpensive structure, which will serve for a support for an alarm bell, and, at the same time, be useful and ornamental to the park. Faithful and diligent attention has been paid to this department by the committee having it in charge.

THE REPORT OF THE CITY MARSHAL

shows a large increase in the number of arrests over preceding years. More than double the number of 1892 for drunkenness, and, indeed, a like proportion for all offenses combined. I do not believe that this shows a proportionate increase in crime, but a greater vigilance in the department, which I believe to be well organized and in an efficient condition.

THE REPORT OF THE CITY ENGINEER

is in all respects satisfactory, and calls for your careful consideration. You will see by it that a large amount of work has been done in this department. The Commercial street sewer has been so far extended during the past season, that it can be easily completed before the coming autumn. In accordance with a petition from the citizens residing in the vicinity of Back Bay, asking for an improvement in the sanitary condition of that locality, the Sewer Committee, in conjunction with the Board of Health, gave the subject careful attention, and Mr. Rudolph Hering of New York, widely known as an expert in sanitary engineering, was engaged, in connection with the city engineer, and Mr. E. C. Jordan, to formulate a plan of improvement. Mr. Hering and his associates have taken a deep interest in the subject, and their report will soon be ready to present to the City Council, when the subject, I doubt not, will receive careful consideration. The catch basins, to which special attention was called last year, have been managed in a more efficient manner than heretofore, as will be seen by the account, which shows that nearly twice the number of cubic yards of material were removed as in the preceding year.

In connection with the report of the engineer, it is proper to speak of the work of the Commission, of which he was the official head. This Commission, established by ordinance, entered upon its duties at the beginning of the last municipal year, and has been in operation until now. During its term of office it has made a record for economy, efficiency of management, and faithfulness to public interests, which cannot be obliterated. It is plainly to be seen, by any one who examines intelligently the results which it has achieved, that it accomplished a much larger amount of work, with a considerably smaller appropriation of money, than was accomplished during either of the two preceding years under the old system. If the new commission accomplishes as good results as its predecessor, it will establish its right to live.

THE REPORT OF THE CITY SOLICITOR

exhibits in detail the work which he has accomplished. Several important cases, which have been pressed against the city for several years, have been finally adjusted in the courts, and a number otherwise disposed of. The Boyd claim for damages to a considerable amount, for gravel taken from certain lots on the southerly slope of Munjoy, in alleged breach of contract between the city and the claimants, which has been before several City Governments, was settled by the purchase of the land in question. I recommend that this land, which adjoins Fort Sumner Park, be placed in charge of the Park Commissioners.

THE REPORT OF THE CITY LIQUOR AGENCY

shows a remarkable decrease in the quantity of intoxicants sold during the year; the sales for the ten months preceding March 1st, are less than \$20,000 and for the municipal year will not probably much exceed one-quarter the amount sold during the year 1892. Opinions upon this subject differ so greatly, that it is useless to comment upon it. This, however, appears certain to me, that it is the duty of the committee having charge of the municipal liquor establishment, to strictly follow the law, and to confine its sales, so far as human

judgment permits, to persons whom the committee believes require liquors for medicinal or mechanical purposes. This it has been the laudable aim of the committee to accomplish, and it may well point with pride to the fact, that under its management, the sale of liquors in a single year, has been reduced nearly \$70,000. This should meet the approval of all good citizens.

During the year a great deal of necessary work has been done on our

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

The front and roof of the city building had reached a condition which required immediate attention; owing to the decay of the cement, the water was finding its way through the walls, and threatening serious damage to the building. It was therefore necessary to remove the old cement, and to carefully fill the spaces with new. The roof, which had for years received only temporary repairs, had become unsafe, and renewal of many of its parts was a necessity.

Addition of offices to the McLellan and Butler School buildings have been made, and the drainage in the latter building improved. The engine houses have also received considerable improvements, and should require but a small outlay of money for necessary repairs during the present year.

What I have formerly said respecting the

UNIMPROVED AND UNUSED PROPERTY

of the city should be repeated. All such property should be sold and thereby gotten upon the tax list. The city has been fortunate in disposing of the Adams House, on Temple street, which came into its possession through a breach of mortgage. It still holds the market house property, which should be sold, or leased on liberal terms, whenever responsible persons can be found to improve it. The new streets opened on the Poor Farm have been the means of attracting builders to that locality, and we now have there a thriving settlement, where two years ago was but a bare

waste. By the opening of these streets, property to the value of at least \$60,000, has been added to the tax list, and with the opening of streets now contemplated, this amount will be largely increased before the close of the year.

CEMETERIES AND PUBLIC PARKS.

It seems to be generally admitted, that no city with any claim to enterprise, is worthy of existence, which does not provide its inhabitants with generous park privileges. Someone has well said, that a man may as well do without lungs, as a city without parks; nor are parks now built for the rich alone, as in bygone times, but for the poor, who are confined a large portion of their lives within narrow limits, and to whom an opportunity, however brief, to breathe pure air, and to enjoy the beauty of green lawns and umbrageous walks, is a boon beyond the realization of the rich. Our city is unsurpassed for beauty of situation, and our aim should be to make it as attractive as possible. By doing so we shall increase wealth and divide the burden of taxation. This is a practical way of solving the tax problem. Much may be done toward lowering the rate of taxation by economy, but more by increasing taxable property. A splendid opportunity to extend our park system lies within easy reach. We have at each end of the city our two promenades, affording some of the most beautiful outlooks to be found in the world. Between these outposts rise the "Breezy domes of Deering's woods," which, with no great outlay of money, can be connected with these promenades by drives bordered with trees and shrubbery, like the arbor ways about Boston. To the north of Deering's woods lies the Back Bay, now a slimy and ill-odored waste not only offensive to nostril and eye, but a menace to the health of the city. What can be done with this sink of corruption, which if left to itself, will grow worse and worse as time goes on? We may see when we look upon what Boston has done in transforming similar vile places into beauty spots, conducive alike to the pleasure and health of her people. The problem is not difficult. By filling around the shores of the bay and enclosing the water with

tide gates, if this plan is recommended by the engineers, not only can a fine sheet of water be preserved, but drives and walks can be laid out around it, with trees and shrubbery, forming a park of unique interest. Of course this will cost money, but with a plan properly laid out, and the land acquired, something could be done each year towards its completion. Nor should this land cost the city a dollar. It is now of trifling value, and such improvement as I have suggested, would so greatly enhance the value of surrounding property, that the owners could well afford to part with the small portion required for an arbor way without an immediate return in money. No one will doubt that if Portland possessed such a park, it would draw around it fine residences, and add immeasurably to the city's attractions. Lincoln Park I have always regarded as the best exhibition of wise enterprise which Portland has ever made. At a period of great suffering, just after the calamitous fire of 1866, when the demands upon our citizens and the city treasury were all too great to be satisfied, the city council of that time was wise enough, and broad enough, in spite of a determined opposition, to purchase and set apart for public use a park in the midst of the burnt district. It was a commendable undertaking, and that City Council will ever be held in grateful remembrance by our citizens. During the last summer, the committee appointed by the last City Council to negotiate for property adjacent to the Western Promenade and the Oaks, held several meetings, and endeavored to procure terms of purchase which might be satisfactory to the city. They failed to procure such terms of the owners of the property adjoining the promenade, but were successful with the Larrabee heirs, who owned a considerable tract adjoining the Oaks. Upon the report of this committee, the reappointment of which I will recommend, the Council promptly acted, and the property was purchased, which will add much to the attractiveness of this park, when properly laid out and adorned, and with the beautiful shelter in the vicinity, recently completed, cannot fail to be appreciated by our citizens. Considerable improvements have

also been made to the Western Promenade and Fort Allen Park, and a very desirable addition has been made to Evergreen Cemetery, by the purchase of the Goss property. To supply a want long felt, a receiving tomb of modern construction has been built at Forest City Cemetery, at a cost of about three thousand dollars. In this connection it is proper to remark, that the Commissioners of Cemeteries and Public Grounds, and the Trustees of Evergreen Cemetery, have shown a commendable interest in the grounds under their control, and are worthy of the meed of praise. I have recently received the publications of the Tree Planting and Fountain Society of Brooklyn, New York, a society founded, as its constitution declares, "to promote the planting and protection of trees, the erection of drinking fountains, and otherwise to render the city of Brooklyn attractive." At its head is Ex-Mayor Low, and its officers are some of the most influential citizens of Brooklyn. I was asked to send in exchange our publications on the subject, and was forced to reply that we had none. As we possess no society of this kind, though I hope that some of our public spirited citizens, or ladies' clubs, may form one, I shall recommend that either the powers of the park commissioners be enlarged, or a committee appointed, to take measures to protect our trees, and to plant others where required, as well as to suggest, and when practicable, carry out, such minor improvements as may appear to them desirable. Owing to the careless way in which the work was performed, the services of a city forester were dispensed with last year, and with the amount of money which he received, I believe that much more and better work can be done by the commissioners, or by a committee of the city government.

I also wish to call your attention to the condition of our

ARMORIES.

At present they are located in the upper stories of out of the way buildings, and cost the city for rental over two thousand dollars. The rooms occupied are wholly inadequate to the requirements of the four companies, for which the city

is obliged to furnish quarters. As I stated last year, plans for an inexpensive building have been made, and there is no good reason why such a building, to cost not exceeding \$20,000 should not be erected. At the rate paid by the city on its last permanent loan, the interest on this sum would not be much above six hundred dollars. Besides, as I have already said, the possession of suitable quarters in a prominent place, where the men would always be under the public eye, would be the means of improving the *morale* of the force.

Much criticism has been made of the manner in which our public buildings are managed, and the work upon them done. Janitors of the school buildings are not always selected for fitness, and work done upon the various city buildings is not looked after with that care which private owners exercise in like instances. What I believe we need is a superintendent of public buildings, whose duty it shall be to see that the janitors properly perform their duties, and to exercise a constant oversight of the repairs made on all buildings owned by the city. Such an officer should keep a daily record of all work being done, with the names and number of men employed and cost of the same. He should attend all meetings of the committee on public buildings, and make specific reports of what is going on. We already have a superintendent of school buildings, whose duties can be enlarged to embrace those which I have suggested, with great advantage to the public interest. I also have a suggestion to make with respect to school janitors. As I have remarked, they are not always selected because of fitness, hence serious damage sometimes occurs to heating apparatus: the safety of buildings and their occupants is endangered, and in some cases the morals of the pupils in the schools impaired. Common sense would seem to dictate, that applicants for such responsible positions, should pass some slight examination before being intrusted with the responsibility of taking charge of buildings heated by steam and filled with children. Credentials of good character, of knowledge of boilers, and general efficiency should be required. Could not the duties of the Board, which examines applicants for the police force,

be enlarged so as to include applicants for this service? I recommend that this be done.

Application has been made to the city, and will soon be renewed, to place the electric wires now supported by troublesome and unsightly poles under ground. There can be no doubt that such a consummation is devoutly to be desired, but before it is done, careful investigations should be made of methods adopted in other cities, and the opinions of experts obtained. Our streets are already at the mercy of enterprising corporations, who cannot be expected to assume the duty of caring for its interests, considering their own to be paramount, and if they are to be continually torn up we can never expect to have good thoroughfares, which are a pre-requisite of a progressive city. It may be found that a sub-way under the sidewalk, a plan which has been much discussed, will remove the latter difficulty, and if so, such a sub-way should be adopted.

During the summer, we shall have a large gathering of teachers in the city. They will be our guests, and as hosts, it will be our duty to attend to their comfort, and to make their visit agreeable and profitable. A special committee should be appointed to secure boarding places, and to make such arrangements as are necessary to make the convention a success.

In closing, I desire to call your attention to one of the most important subjects which can engage your attention, namely, the revision of the city charter. Our present charter needs a careful revision and reconstruction on modern lines, and the work should be placed in competent hands. I therefore recommend that a committee be appointed to consider the matter, and to report to the Council at an early day.

Thanking you for your attention, I close with the somewhat trite, but nevertheless true remark, that as public servants we have but a single duty before us, devotion to public interests. As Cicero so well said, "Men never so nearly approach the gods, as when they devote themselves to the public welfare".

JAMES P. BAXTER, *Mayor*.



*With the Compliments
of
the Author*

THE STORY

OF

PORTLAND

BY

JAMES P. BAXTER

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THE STORY OF PORTLAND.

By James P. Baxter.

A THOUGHTFUL Gallic penman wrote that

"there is nothing beautiful, sweet or grand in life but its mysteries ;" and we may well agree with him that those

things which lie beyond the scope of sense and reveal themselves only to the eye of sentiment give life and meaning to everything about us. What are the crowding tenement and lofty mansions, the massive towers and cloud-kissing spires of a great city, if the mind contemplating them does not feel behind them the varied forces which have contributed to the city's construction, from the time when its last building was completed, back to the pioneers who fixed upon its site in the wilderness, or among the ruins of aboriginal camps?

Here on the shores of Casco Bay, by shelly beach and bowlder-strewn headland, or under the dark pines which shade its verdant slopes, we may picture to ourselves scenes which have taken place, now visible but to the eye of imagination, but as real as any which lie within the compass of bodily sight. Here the ice age reigned, holding the land with relentless grasp and crushing out every vestige of life which it sustained. Glaciers from the north, resistless save by the sea, which devoured them as they advanced, tore the mountain crags from their foundations and strewed them along their way ; forces of hidden origin, amid terrors too appalling for human vision to behold, moulded the peninsula known by the red man as Machegonne, outlining valley, and cove, and waterway, lifting crag and hill to place, and making them things of beauty to delight forever the eyes of man.

Thus this beautiful peninsula, rising above the blue sea, adorned with sheltering groves and verdant glades kept fresh



by perennial springs, in due time became the abode of men, of wild men whose tastes were simple and wants such as sea and forest could amply supply. Generation after generation

of these people came into existence and passed out of it as the seasons rolled by, cherishing with childish delight the mysteries of a past of which they knew little, until a time came when a greater wonder than any of which they had before dreamed appeared to their awe-stricken vision. In from the mysterious sea, whose boundless waters somewhere in space washed the shores of dreamland, came a ship — a white-winged monster it seemed to their eyes — bearing visitants whose aspect and speech were to them alike strange : indeed superior beings. Along the shores which the red men had ever regarded as their own, these white-faced men erected their habitations ; and Machegonne began to be the abode of civilization.

Who were these early comers? Some have supposed them adventurers from the sterile shores of Greenland, the kin of the Norse sea-kings, whose dragon prows were the terror of those who dwelt by the sea ; but no remains exist on the shores of Maine to give support to this supposition. The Venetian Cabots may have looked into the harbor palisaded by wooded islands, or the Spanish Cortereals, or the weather-beaten toilers of the sea from the rocky shores of Brittany, or Verrazzano, or Pring, or Gosnold ; but this is uncertain. Providence seems to have jealously preserved this jewel for the Anglo-Saxon ; for even that noble man, the brave and pious Champlain, when in the spring of 1606, after a winter of suffering at Saint Croix, he searched the coast for a site upon which to place his colony, was not permitted to

upon it. Passing outside the islands at its mouth, he skirted the shores of Cape Elizabeth, not suspecting that he had passed the noblest haven to shelter the ships of his beloved France to be found on the coast. And what a Providence was this! — for Champlain, noble as he was, represented a power which was a menace to human liberty and progress; and had Gallic government been set up here, the history of the continent might have been widely different from what it is.

Two years after this, Raleigh Gilbert, exploring the coast from Sagadahoc, probably looked into the harbor of Machegonne, and perhaps drank of the spring at Clay Cove; and in 1614 the ship of Captain John Smith anchored here, seeking fish and furs. Thomas Dermer, too, in 1619, — the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the father of American colonization, — must have been here when exploring the coast, and have taken account of the advantages which the harbor afforded for a maritime settlement. Still we have no definite description of the locality from any of these.

In 1623 Christopher Levett, the son of an innkeeper of York, in the native county of Frobisher, inspired with a zeal for adventure, conceived the plan of founding a city in New England. In furtherance of this project he obtained, May 5, 1623, from the council established at Plymouth for governing New England, a grant of six thousand acres of land to be located by him upon any territory belonging to the council. Levett well understood the advantage of official patronage, and he at once undertook to enlist the interest of Lord Conway, then Secretary of State, Lord Scrope, and even royalty itself in his enterprise. To gain the support of his Yorkshire friends, as well as to gratify his patriotic pride, he proposed to name this projected city in the New World, York, in honor of the stately city of his nativity. His efforts in obtaining financial support for his enterprise do not appear to have been attended with much success; but his energy attracted the attention of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was about to send his *younger son Robert* to the New World to *represent the council of which Sir Fer-*

dinando was the moving spirit, as *ernor and Lieutenant General of England*, — and Levett received the *pointment of councillor in the government.*

Thus equipped, Levett set out on his voyage, and in early autumn reached the mouth of the Piscataqua, where he met Gorges, and assisted him in settling the forms of government within the main of the council. This duty accomplished, he set out on a voyage of exploration eastward, being joined on the way by men whom he had engaged to accompany him. The season was late for exploration, and Levett possessed few open boats with which to coast along the wild shores of Maine, bleak and dangerous in winter; but with a bold and cheerful spirit he pushed on, lightening his journey with a quaint humor and hardships with a quaint or pleasant joke. At night Levett and his men encamped on the seashore, protecting themselves from the wintry storms which swept around them as best they could by such rude structures as they were able to hastily erect. After several days of severe toil and exposure the islands at the mouth of Portland Harbor were reached. Levett examined the harbor and passed up Fore River, which was told by the Indians abounded in fish and fowl in their season. Upon this river and its tributary stream he bestowed his own name, and wishing to continue his exploration farther east, he passed around Mount Desert to the mouth of the Presumpscot. The shores of this charming river and its tributary are fringed by a lofty island at its mouth, dividing the waters as they mingle with the sea, the haunt of the red man. To an Indian town located near the first fall of the Presumpscot, which Levett declared to be "bigger than the fall at Llangollen Bridge," he proceeded, and was received in friendly fashion by the chief resident there, Skitterygusset by name, who gave him comfortable shelter in the royal wigwam. The town was a convenient rendezvous for the eastern Indians on their way west to barter their furs with the English traders, who were now becoming numerous on the coast; and while on his journeying with the friendly chief to the mouth of the Presumpscot, Levett became acquainted

with a number of the friends of his host, both from the east and west. With these rude people he was soon on friendly terms; and when he started to pursue his explorations eastward, Sadamoyt, the sagamore of the Penobscots, pressed upon him a beaver skin, then the savage's most coveted treasure, as a token of his esteem for the Yorkshire adventurer.

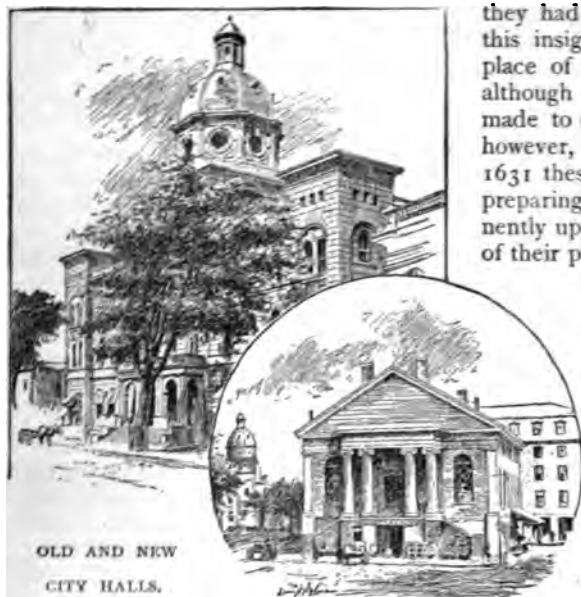
Though Levett had probably determined already to locate his grant from the council for New England about Portland harbor, he extended his explorations to the neighborhood of Sagadahoc, where his patron Gorges, always confident of retrieving his failure under Popham and Gilbert, cherished the idea of founding a "state county" and building a city which should have the honor of being christened by the king.

Levett, in his exploration of the Maine coast, found the natives hospitable; and although he saw sites suitable for settlement at many points along the coast, his heart was fixed on the region about Portland harbor, which experience told him afforded a site of unsurpassed advantages for a maritime city. After a brief exploration of the coast to the east, he returned there and selected the site for his proposed city of York. With conspicuous wisdom, instead of seizing upon the land by virtue of his English patent, as others had usually done in the New World, in disregard of the natives' rights, he proceeded to obtain from Cogawesco, the sagamore of Casco, and his wife, to whom the land belonged by inheritance, the right of occupation. He accomplished this in an amicable manner, and then, to afford shelter and protection for his men, erected a fortified dwelling upon one of the islands at the mouth of the harbor. Here he placed a garrison of ten men; and in the summer of 1624, greatly to the grief of the Indians, whose friendship he had won by his unselfish course, he set sail for England, in order to obtain men and means to enlarge his enterprise. The friendly savages, who stood on the shore regretting his departure, and saw the ship which bore him vanish from sight, looked upon him *no more*. *He had promised them*

that he would return after some moons, and they talked of his coming, and speculated upon the cause of his delay; yet he returned no more than the friends who had passed to those realms of mystery where dwelt their shadowy gods.

When Levett reached England he found affairs there unpropitious for advancing his colonial projects. The charter of the council for New England was on trial, and had been pronounced a monopoly dangerous to the public weal. There was also threatened trouble with Spain, and France was claiming the territory where he had located his prospective colony. Men who under favorable circumstances would have listened to his enthusiastic description of the new country over the sea were not disposed to risk their lives and money in a scheme likely to be overthrown by foreign power; and, baffled but not disheartened, he was obliged to wait for happier times.

Over two years passed away. What had in this time become of his fortified dwelling in Portland harbor, and the men he had left there, we know not. The pretensions of the French king had just been put to rest, and interest in colonial enterprises began to revive. Levett seized the occasion to press his design upon the attention of the king, and with the aid of powerful friends succeeded in obtaining a proclamation directed to the ecclesiastical authorities, requiring the churches of York to take up a contribution in aid of the colonial enterprise in Casco Bay. The king's reasons for this extraordinary order were that, his colonial plans in New England having been interrupted by his difficulties with France and Spain, it had become necessary, in order to secure English interests in the new land, to render assistance to those who had entered upon such enterprises, and that, as his "well-beloved subject, Christopher Levett," was willing to risk to the utmost both life and estate in order to establish a colony in New England, and was well acquainted with the Indians, he had thought best not only to make him Governor of New England, but to order churchmen to contribute means to aid him in his undertaking, the success of which would enable the



they had dropped from the skies upon this insignificant spot. Even the birth-place of Cleeve is involved in mystery, although persistent efforts have been made to discover it. For most readers, however, it is sufficient to know that in 1631 these pioneers were here, evidently preparing to establish themselves permanently upon these unpeopled shores, one of their purposes being traffic with the natives and fishermen frequenting the coast. Cleeve had received from Sir Ferdinando Gorges a promise of land to be located by him on territory not already granted to any person, and had taken possession of territory which had been granted by the council for New England to one Bradshaw, of whose claim he had possessed himself. He therefore felt his tenure of the land he occu-

poor and ignorant savages to acquire a knowledge of the true faith, a work which especially commended itself to the king's affection. This scheme, promising as it seemed to be, failed of result. Levett, however, to bring his plans more prominently before the public, prepared and published an account of his voyage to New England and his explorations of its coasts. Shortly after, Buckingham, upon whom he largely relied for support, fell by the knife of an assassin, and troubles with France and Spain recommenced. Three more years passed, during which time we know little of Levett's motions; but in 1630 we find him at Salem welcoming John Endicott to the New World. Shortly after, he sailed for home, and died on the voyage. His patent passed into the hands of Plymouth merchants, to whom he was probably indebted, and the city of York in Casco Bay proved truly to be but the insubstantial fabric of a vision.

In 1631 George Cleeve and his associate, Richard Tucker, had erected a rude habitation at the mouth of the Spurwink River, opposite Richmond's Island. The exact date when they landed here has *never been revealed*, and from what *sort they came is still as unknown as if*

occupied fairly secure, although to make it really so would have required a confirmation of the title to him by the council.

A few straggling adventurers had begun to make their appearance in the vicinity of their place of settlement: Bagnall at Richmond's Island, Stratton on another island near by, Bonython, Lewis and Vines on the Saco, and Mackworth on the point which still bears his name, at the mouth of the Presumpscot. These were their only neighbors within a radius of a dozen miles or more, unless a few fishermen were plying their toilsome vocation at one or two points in the vicinity which are still the haunts of those who gather their harvest from the sea. All about these pioneers of civilization reigned a silence unbroken save by the voice of bird and beast. On one side, an illimitable expanse of ocean, with no sail to suggest the proximity of human life; on the other, an equally boundless extent of forest. From contemporary accounts we have some knowledge of the incidents common to the daily life of our pioneers. Something new and strange was before their eyes from morn when they were awakened by the clamor of innumerable sea-fowl which crowded the shores of bay, cove

and inlet, until nightfall, when the strident notes of these wild choristers gave place to the harsher voices of the wolves, whose sharp barks echoed through the gloomy woods. The deer, the moose and the caribou came out into the clearing to browse upon the new grass; wild pigeons settled down upon the tall pines in myriads, bending and breaking the branches with their weight; shoals of seals at flood-tide sought the shore to bask in the sun; and at ebb clumsy bears clambered over the rocks in search of shell-fish.

But Cleeve and Tucker were not to plant themselves permanently upon the banks of the Spurwink. Other work more important, although they did not know it to be so, was to be assigned them. One day a sail appeared in the offing, and was doubtless watched by them with deep interest as it drew near. It proved to be a vessel from home, sent out by Robert Trelawny, a Plymouth merchant, and was in charge of an agent commissioned to take possession of Richmond's Island and the opposite shores, where they had settled. While they were busy building their new home, the enterprising merchant had procured of Gorges a patent of the territory; and they were peremptorily ordered by his agent, John Winter, to vacate the premises, or to become tenants of his master. It would seem as if the generous air from ocean and mountain inspired those who breathed it with

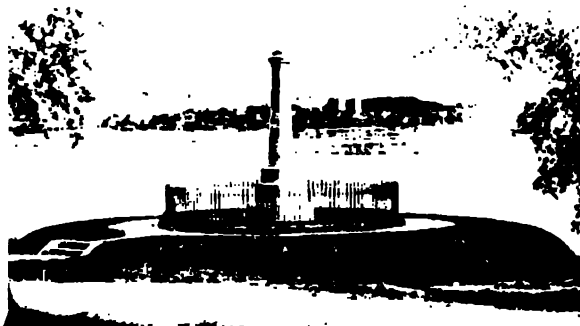


SITE OF THE FIRST HOUSE, RICHMOND'S ISLAND.

the spirit of independence as soon as they landed upon the shores of New England. Cleeve, who had grown to manhood under a government where prerogative was still potent, replied to Winter that "he would be tenant to never a man in New England."

Five days after Winter's arrival, a second vessel arrived with another colonist, Captain Thomas Cammock, who had a patent for land west of the Spurwink, comprising what is now known as Prout's Neck.

The position of Cleeve and Tucker was humiliating. They were but interlopers, and Winter having procured the official aid of Captain Walter Neale, who was in the vicinity, they were promptly served with a notice to quit. It was but a paper notice, however, and Winter was not in a position to employ force. He had come here only to make arrangements for a future settlement, and was to return to England immediately for men and materials to effect this purpose. Needing men to leave in possession until his return, he engaged three fishermen, who were living "in a house at Casko," probably the one erected several years before by Levett, and, placing them in charge of his patron's property, set sail for England in July, leaving Cleeve and Tucker to harvest the crop which they had planted. They, however, well knew that he would return the

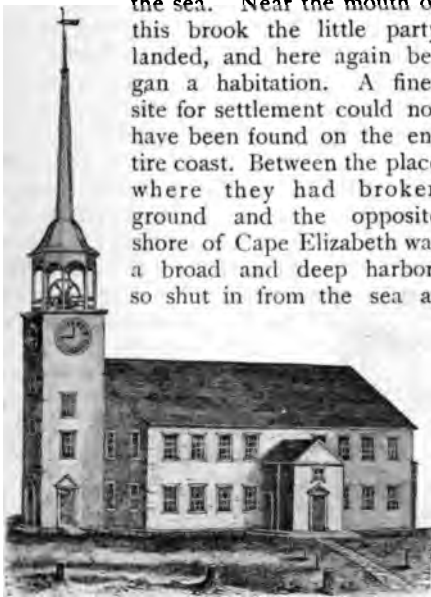


THE CLEEVE MONUMENT.

season with a force sufficient to drive them out ; hence they began looking about for a new place of settlement.

Several miles northerly from their present habitation was a neck of land which seemed well adapted to their purpose ; and when John Winter returned, March 2, 1633, they were ready to leave the Spurwink and begin again the foundations of a home on the shores of Casco Bay. Leaving Winter in undisputed possession of his employer's rights, Cleeve, with his wife and daughter, his partner and a servant, set out in an open boat for the neck known to the Indians as Machegonne. This neck terminated in a rounded hill crowned with a forest, to the west of which rose another hill, and between them lay a valley, through

which coursed a brook to the sea. Near the mouth of this brook the little party landed, and here again began a habitation. A finer site for settlement could not have been found on the entire coast. Between the place where they had broken ground and the opposite shore of Cape Elizabeth was a broad and deep harbor, so shut in from the sea as



MEETING-HOUSE OF THE FIRST PARISH,
1740-1825.



REV. THOMAS SMITH.

to afford a safe anchorage for the royal navy. Cleeve's simple dwelling was soon erected, on the southerly slope of the cove, protected by the wooded hill in its rear from the north winds, and looking out upon the harbor and the green shores of Cape Elizabeth.

Although Cleeve had again a shelter for his family, with a garden and cornfield about it, he must have been troubled with many anxious thoughts. Like others, he had emigrated to the New World under a promise from the council for New England, or its moving spirit, Gorges, of a grant of land to be selected after arrival in

the country from any land not already occupied ; besides, a proclamation of the king entitled every man to one hundred and fifty acres of land for himself and for each person whom he should transport thither. He had secured Levett's grant of 1623 ; but this was a title of doubtful value at that time, and he must have realized that he was liable at any minute to be supplanted by some one with a patent fresh from the seal of the council.

The details of the disputes concerning his title in which Cleeve became involved, of his difficult trips to England to confer with Gorges, and of his quarrels with Winter and Trelawny it is impossible to give here.

He succeeded, in January, 1636, in procuring from Gorges a patent for fifteen hundred acres of land, comprising the entire neck, which bore the Indian name of Machegonne, but which was changed to Stogomor, in honor of Stogumber, the little village where Tucker was born.

His first act was to obtain the services of Arthur Mackworth, who as the agent of Gorges was to complete his title by delivering him possession of the terri-



"THE TOWN OF FALMOUTH, BURNT BY CAPTAIN MOET, OCTOBER 18, 1775."

FROM "IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR," BOSTON, 1781.

tory. This formal act was accomplished in the presence of several of Cleeve's neighbors on the eighth of June.

Cleeve had other enemies than Winter and Trelawny, who were active in placing him before the eyes of Gorges in unfavorable light; and in this they so far succeeded as to call forth a letter from the Lord Proprietor to Henry Vane, Winthrop and other magistrates, requesting them to interfere in the controversy. But Vane had already sailed for England, and Winthrop with his usual sagacity refrained from involving himself in the affairs of his neighbors. Cleeve, however, must have felt that his position, which had appeared so strong

their way to Stogomor, where they received a warm welcome from the patentees, who were glad to grant lands to them upon almost any terms. Among those who came into the vicinity was John Josselyn, the genial author, then fresh from his studies, who accompanied his aged father, Sir Thomas, to visit his brother Henry at Black Point. From him we get many interesting glimpses into the life of that period, which, in spite of the hard conditions surrounding the people, was often spiced with conviviality. Josselyn describes to us a merry evening passed at Cammock's house, at which Michael Mitton, who had recently married Elizabeth Cleeve, was



PORTLAND, FROM THE HARBOR.

upon his first return from England, had become insecure, for his enemies were influential, and he well knew what such influence could accomplish.

The year following that in which Cleeve reached home was marked by many events. Emigration was active, and new settlers were rapidly finding

present. Josselyn, was in western parlance, a "tender-foot," and Mitton and Cammock imposed upon the credulity of the new-comer by the relation of marvelous tales, which were evidently taken seriously by the verdant young Englishman.

Intoxicating liquors formed one of the chief articles of import; and Riv

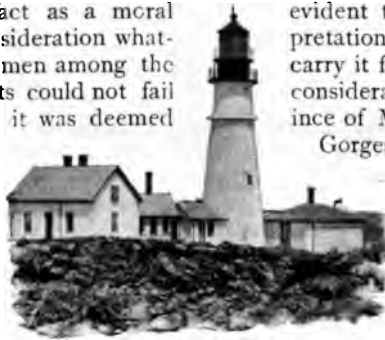
mond's Island became the centre of the traffic. Trelawny's ships brought, in exchange for the furs, fish and other products of the vicinity, Spanish wines and various more powerful intoxicants, greatly to the demoralization of the colonists, and especially to the injury of the Indians, who would part with all they possessed to obtain the coveted fire-water. Although this traffic did not touch the public conscience, in fact as a moral question received no consideration whatever even with the best men among the colonists, its deadly effects could not fail to arouse attention, and it was deemed necessary for the preservation of society to pass laws regulating it as soon as courts were established in the country.

Religion, although not regarded as the main-spring of social order to the degree that it was in Boston, was nevertheless not neglected in Maine; and the early comers to Stogomor could, if they chose, occasionally receive religious instruction from Richard Gibson, a young Episcopal clergyman, whom Trelawny had sent in 1635 to minister to the spiritual needs of his colony at Richmond's Island and Cape Elizabeth. There was no settled religious feeling among the new settlers. Nominally the principal portion of them belonged to the Church of England; and this fact, with the natural feeling always entertained toward a strong rival, kept alive a sentiment of opposition to Puritan Massachusetts, whose influence, owing to the

wise management of Winthrop and his able associates, was rapidly making itself felt among the little settlements along the coast. Massachusetts realized its growing strength and the necessity as well as the duty of establishing as widely as possible its authority and discipline, if it would permanently maintain its supremacy. Its northeastern boundary was still undetermined, but it was evident that a strict legal interpretation of its charter would carry it far enough to include a considerable portion of the province of Maine.

Gorges had been censured by impracticable zealots for making his province the asylum of dissenters, and to quiet their clamor he undertook to set up the forms of ecclesiastical government in his possessions.

An elaborate plan was formulated, and numerous officers chosen to put it into operation, a proceeding which he doubtless feared Massachusetts would not regard with favor. At the first court set up under the new government, Vines, Godfrey and Winter appeared as litigants against Cleeve, who in turn pressed claims against his inveterate enemy Winter for dispossessing him of his property on the



PORTLAND HEAD LIGHT.



FORT PREBLE.



FORT SCAMMEL.



FORT GORGES.

Spurwink and disturbing him in his possession of Stogomor. Cleeve's position, without money or influential friends

in England, grew desperate, and he would soon have succumbed but for political troubles in England. In 1642 came the

great Civil War, and Trelawny, Winter's powerful protector, was thrown into prison, where he soon died.

Seeing now an opportunity to strengthen his position, Cleeve again set out for England, where he succeeded in gaining the attention of Sir Alexander Rigby, a powerful parliamentarian, whom he induced to purchase a dormant title to the province of Ligonias, which comprised territory forty miles square between and including Cape Elizabeth and Cape Porpoise; and in the early autumn of 1643, with his commission of deputy governor of the province in his hand, he appeared, to the

troubles of Cleeve were ended. Under his management the town of Casco began to assume importance, when in the summer of 1650 Rigby, his patron, died. Again Cleeve took the long journey across the ocean, and the affairs of the town were thrown into confusion.

At this juncture, Massachusetts having defined her eastern boundary, Casco was brought within the jurisdiction of that colony, and Cleeve upon his return found new troubles awaiting him. A conflict of authority ensued, which continued until 1658, when Massachusetts triumphed and Casco with adjoining territory was



THE DRAW. MARINE HOSPITAL IN THE DISTANCE.

consternation of his enemies, at Stogomor, or Casco, as it was familiarly called. The royal or Gorges party were not disposed to yield gracefully to the new order; and Richard Vines, the founder of Biddeford, was chosen by them deputy governor. For three years there was a conflict of authority between Cleeve and Vines, when it was brought to an end by the decision of the Commissioners of Plantations in England, which sustained the claim of Rigby, and Cleeve assumed full sway in the province. Trelawny had died, Gorges and Winter soon followed, and it seemed for a few years as if the

organized into a new town under the name of Falmouth. From this time we hear little of the original proprietor of the thriving settlement on "the neck." His brief power had passed away, and death soon found him, a broken-down and poverty-stricken man. But Falmouth continued to thrive, in spite of the rival claim of Massachusetts and the heirs of the former Lord Proprietor, Gorges. Its greatest danger was from the savages, who regarded the settlers with distrust and aversion, which were encouraged by French emissaries; indeed so threatening was this danger that Massachu-

felt obliged to pass a law that every man should "take to meeting on Lord's days his arms with him with at least five charges of powder and shot." In 1676 the fears of the people of Falmouth were realized by an attack of the savages upon the town, destroying it and dispers-

were clustered about Fort Loyal, which was near the site of the present Grand Trunk Railroad station. In the autumn of 1689 the savages made an attack upon Brackett's farm, and killed a number of persons. The next spring, with their French allies, they attacked the fort and



THE UNION STATION, FROM THE WESTERN PROMENADE.

ing those of its inhabitants who were happy enough to escape their fury.

With the establishment of peace the scattered inhabitants returned one by one, and with the aid of new settlers began relaying the foundations of Falmouth. The growth, however, was slow. The savages were feared, and their frequent outbreaks rendered life and property insecure; hence most of the dwellings

were captured it, making prisoners of the people in it, and again destroyed the settlement.

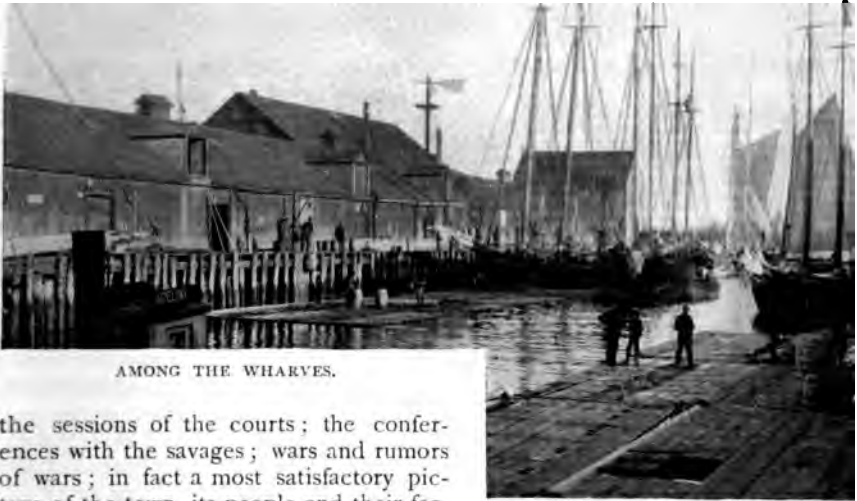
In 1716 there were but fifteen men on the neck; but its superior position soon began to attract settlers, and in 1718 the town was incorporated under its former title of Falmouth. The savages, however, instigated by the French, continued to threaten the stability of Maine settle-

ments. This retarded the growth of the place. But in 1725 a treaty of peace was ratified at Falmouth, the result of a vigorous war, in which Norridgewock was destroyed and the savages of Pequawket driven to take refuge with the French in Canada. At this time the town numbered fifty-six families, according to the Rev. Thomas Smith, upon whose invaluable journal we are obliged to rely for particulars of the history of the time. It presents to us most vividly the most notable persons of the period; the visits of the royal governors to the town;



CUSTOM HOUSE.

THE STORY OF PORTLAND.



the sessions of the courts; the conferences with the savages; wars and rumors of wars; in fact a most satisfactory picture of the town, its people and their fortunes, for a period of more than a half a century,—a picture which cannot be better painted, and which all should study who are interested in New England history.

In 1740 the church known as the First Parish Church was erected for Parson Smith: and in this he labored through a

agitation. The siege and capture of Louisburg in 1745, its surrender to the French, and subsequent recapture, and the capture of Quebec in 1759 were some of the events of the period; and Smit preached when, in October, 1775 Captain Mowat's fleet appeared in the harbor and bombarded the town, causing destruction for the third time. The Rev. Jacob Bailey, who was an eye-witness to this affair, gives the following graphic account of it:

"The morning was clear, calm and pleasant, without a breath of wind. The town was crowded with people, and carts from the country to assist in moving the goods and furniture of the inhabitants. . . . At length the fatal hour arrived. At exactly half an hour after the flag was hoisted to the top of the mainmast, and the cannon began to roar with incessant and tremendous fury. The streets were full of people, oxen and horses. The oxen, terrified at the sound and report of the guns, ran with precipitation over the rocks, dashing every thing to pieces and scattering large quantities of goods about the streets. And the scene inexpressibly grand and terrible exhibited in view of thousands of spectators. Bombs and carcasses, arms



THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY ROOMS.

long life to improve the spiritual condition of the people. His life was passed amid stirring scenes. Wars and rumors of wars kept the people in a constant state of

destruction and streaming with fire, blazed dreadfully through the air and descended with flaming vengeance on the defenceless buildings. It was impossible for persons of sensibility and reflection to behold the mingled multitude without emotion, — to see the necessitous and affluent, the gentleman and mechanic, the master and servant, the mistress and maid, reduced to the same undistinguished level. Those ladies who had been educated in all the softness of ease and indulgence, who had been used to the most delicate treatment, and never ventured out of town without an equipage



THE LONGFELLOW STATUE.

and proper attendants, were now constrained to travel several miles on foot to seek a shelter from the cold and tempest. About three quarters of the town was consumed, and between two and three hundred families, who twenty-four hours before enjoyed in tranquillity their commodious habitations, were now in many instances destitute of shelter for themselves and families; and as a tedious winter

was approaching, they had before them a most gloomy and distressing prospect."

Though Mowat may have acted under orders from his superior, Admiral Graves, it will be a long time before he will be forgiven by Portland people for his share in this wanton destruction of the town. Parson Smith himself found shelter in Gorham, where some of his descendants still live. Many relics of this notable man are still in existence, and are carefully treasured by their fortunate possessors.

But the town was again to arise from its ashes; and a few years after peace was declared it began to assume an air of importance. Parson Smith's old church escaped destruction, and had become a somewhat venerable structure when, in 1787, a second parish was organized, and a church erected on the corner of Middle and Deer Streets. In the same year an Episcopal church was erected, called St. Paul's, on the corner of Middle and Church Streets; all of which made the good Parson Smith exclaim: "Poor Portland is plunging into ruinous confusion." Only the year before he had presided at the christening of Portland, that part of Falmouth known as the Neck having had that name bestowed upon it in 1786.

From this time the business of Portland began to increase, until troubles with England resulted in the Embargo, which gave a death blow to foreign commerce. The vessels which had brought wealth to Portland merchants tugged at their rusty chains in the harbor or chafed their weather-stained timbers against the deserted wharves, and many an opulent citizen saw the savings of a lifetime rapidly disappear.

In 1812 came the war with England, and Portland became a theatre of activity. Military companies were formed, fortifications for defence erected, and privateers armed and sent forth to make reprisals upon the enemy. These privateers wrought great havoc among British merchantmen, and when they came into port with their prizes, the victors were welcomed vociferously and feted to their hearts' content by the enthusiastic citizens.



THE POST OFFICE.

The most noted event, however, which occurred was the battle between the *Enterprise* and *Boxer*, which was fought September 5, 1813, inside of the island of Monhegan. The vessels, although nearly forty miles distant, could be seen from the observatory with a spy-glass, and the keeper when he saw the battle going on communicated the news to the excited crowd below. Although no one could see the vessels from the observatory with the naked eye, an aged gentleman, who was a lad at the time of the battle and in the crowd on Munjoy, gave an account of the event a few years ago in a manner to convey to the hearer the idea that he heard the guns and saw the vessels engaged, so deep an impression did the repetition of what the lookout saw from the observatory make upon his youthful imagination.



CONGRESS STREET.

In this battle both commanders exhibited heroic qualities, and both were killed. Blyth, the British commander, nailed his colors to the mast, and Burrows, while lying mortally wounded upon the deck of the *Enterprise*, ordered that his flag should never be struck. The vessels were brought into Portland harbor with their dead commanders, who were buried side by side in the old cemetery, where their tombs are objects of ever increasing interest to those who visit the Forest City.

Although Portland did not suffer directly from the war, her business was almost annihilated; yet she slowly recovered from its effects. In 1819, when the separation between Maine and Massachusetts took place, Portland was regarded as the proper capital of the new state. A state house was erected where the city building now stands; and here the state legislature held its annual sessions until 1831, when it removed to Augusta, somewhat to the chagrin of the citizens of Portland, who still feel that



MIDDLE STREET.

their beautiful city, from her commanding position and ease of access from all parts of the state by rail and water, should be the capital of the state.

One of the most noteworthy enterprises



LONGFELLOW'S BIRTHPLACE.

people of Portland was the building of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad. It was a great undertaking, and but for the energy and ability of Portland men would not have been built. The building too of the Portland and Ogdensburg Railroad, through the notch of the White Mountains, was a Portland enterprise. The men who labored with heroic zeal to open these grand avenues of traffic between the seaboard and the producing centres of the West should ever be held in grateful remembrance by the people of Portland.

Among those who led in the construction of the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad were John A. Poor, William Pitt Preble and Josiah P. Little, who made themselves conspicuous in the enterprise by their untiring efforts in its behalf. The first was a man of great breadth of intellect, a genius whose dreams were all too splendid for complete realization. Such men are, however, among the world's benefactors. It may not be possible for clumsy hands to reproduce the airy fabrics which they so deftly construct, but they may imitate them in some degree and so make practical what else might never have been attempted. The breaking of ground at the Atlantic end of the line was a great event to Portland citizens.



PORTLAND YACHT CLUB HOUSE.

Preble, with a shovel especially made for the purpose, which was the admiration of the town for several days before, threw up the first clod of earth amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the thousands assembled to witness the beginning of the work. He was a prominent lawyer, and lived to an advanced age. Little, who was as able, but of less



THE LONGFELLOW MANSION.

conspicuous talents, died comparatively young.

Every great enterprise has its leader; and as the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad had its Poor, so the Portland and Ogdensburg had its Anderson. But for General Samuel J. Anderson, assisted by his brother, the late John F. Anderson, by whose engineering skill the road was carried through the notch of the White Mountains, Portland would not to-day possess this valuable avenue of traffic.

Portland has been prolific of men conspicuous for ability in every walk of life, men who would have made themselves leaders in any community and under any conditions. Though not a native of Portland, Chief Justice Mellen resided here during the better part of his life. His brilliant son, Grenville Mellen, whose early promise of poetic

THE STORY OF PORTLAND.

fame failed of fulfilment, is still held in pleasant remembrance by the older citizens. Portland was also the native home of that erratic genius, John Neal, an American of Americans, whose "fierce gray bird with a startling shriek" made his name famous for a season the world over. Although exceedingly passionate, he was a most polished gentleman, and prided himself in the gentle accomplishment of fencing. The surprising dexterity with which he delivered flankade and carte over the arm cannot be forgotten by any one who witnessed it.

throngs of tourists. It is still in a state of preservation, but the locality where it stands in severe dignity has deteriorated since Longfellow's father lived in it, and now looks unkempt and solitary. Longfellow, when in Portland, lived in the house known as the Longfellow house, on Congress Street, which is often mistaken for his birthplace. Here was that he passed his youth, and the house is more intimately associated with him than the one in which he was born. This house, it is understood, will eventually come into the possession of



EVERGREEN CEMETERY.

N. P. Willis was also born here, and some of his best work was done amid the congenial surroundings of Casco Bay. Here, too, resided William Willis, the historian, and his successor, William Gould, Seba and Elizabeth Oaks Smith, and Henry W. Longfellow, whose name is immortal.

Longfellow loved Portland beyond any spot on earth, and never tired of her shady streets, her old wharves, and Deering's Woods, of which he so pleasantly sang. The house on Fore Street, where he was born, is visited every year by

Maine Historical Society and he served as a memorial of the poet.

No citizen of Portland, excepting Longfellow, has a wider celebrity than William Pitt Fessenden. Not only was he eminent as a lawyer, but as a statesman he achieved well-merited fame. No one ever hated shams more than Fessenden. He never learned the arts of the politician, and achieved political success by sheer force of intellect. In debate he was the opposite of Charles Sumner, a *confrère* in the United States Senate, whose ornate oratory was distasteful

him. Nor did Sumner sympathize with the Portland statesman, whose trenchant logic made him shiver; hence there was not that friendship between them which ought to have existed between such noble men. Sumner regarded Fessenden as cold and cynical, while Fessenden regarded Sumner as a literary coxcomb, who would have found a more appropriate field for the exercise of his talents in Utopia than in the United States Senate. As a matter of fact, both were mistaken in their estimate of each other.

Fessenden, in spite of his cold exterior, was kindly and sympathetic, a close student, and honest to the core. Sumner possessed the same admirable qualities; and had the men known each other more intimately, they might have been warm friends, as they should have been.

Although it is not intended to speak

here of living citizens of Portland, two exceptions may be permitted. Everybody is familiar with the name of Neal Dow, the author of the Maine Law, so called. General Dow is now upwards of ninety years of age, but is still hale and hearty, and apparently as capable of delivering telling blows at the monster Intemperance as ever. He is a most aggressive man, but only aggressive against wrong. Socially no man is more genial and sympathetic. He is an admirable storyteller and full of in-

teresting reminiscences, which he relates with a charming simplicity and directness.

Of Thomas B. Reed, who is the other living citizen in whose favor an exception is here made, it may be truly said that he is a Portlander *a capite ad calcem*. Mr. Reed is a descendant of George



WILLISTON CHURCH.



THE DEERING OAKS.

Cleeve, the founder of Portland; he played in Portland's streets when a child, in youth was educated in her public schools, and almost upon attaining manhood was her chosen representative in the legislature of the state, and later in the councils of the nation. He is as loyal to Portland as Portland is to him, and both are proud of each other.

In 1866 occurred the great fire, which laid a large portion of the city again in ashes. The loss wrought by this terrible conflagration can never be wholly repaired. Ancient documents, invaluable to the historian, priceless heirlooms, which had come down through many generations, rare books, the spoil of patient book hunters, all were swept away, with the ancestral homes of many happy families. But the people of Portland were not discouraged, and under the exhilaration which great loss often occasions they sprang to the task of rebuilding the town before the fires had died out, and within two years the city was practically rebuilt and the wheels of business were again prosperously revolving.

Up to this time the principal trade of Portland had been with the West Indies. Longfellow has sung how, standing on the wharves of the old town, he saw

"The Spanish sailors
with bearded lips,
And the beauty and
mystery of the ships,
And the magic of the
sea."

The West India trade of Portland, however, like the East India trade of Salem, has dwindled away, until now it is but one among many kinds of business carried on by her enterprising merchants.



ON THE WESTERN PROMENADE, THE MAINE GENERAL HOSPITAL.

While Portland is well situated for many kinds of manufacturing industries requiring small plants, it can never become a large manufacturing centre. A commercial and residential city, however, is the best kind of a city, and this is what Portland is to be. Hence to extend her commerce and to make her attractive for residents will be the aim of her citizens. The latter can be accomplished by beautifying and adorning her streets and by enlarging and im-



VIEW FROM THE OTTAWA.
THE OTTAWA, CUSHING'S ISLAND.



FIRST PARISH CHURCH.

proving her park system as far as possible.

That we have entered upon an era of park building in America there can be no doubt, for we see evidences of it on every side; indeed it is generally admitted that no city with any claim to enterprise is worthy of existence which does not provide its inhabitants with generous park privileges. It has been well said

that a man may as well do without lungs as a city without parks. Nor are parks now built for the rich alone, as in bygone times, but for the poor also, who are confined a large portion of their lives within narrow limits, and to whom an opportunity, however brief, to breathe pure air and enjoy the beauty of green lawns and umbrageous walks is a boon of incalculable value. Hence parks are built in the poorest localities, like the Charles River Embankment in Boston. Here a few years ago for nearly half a mile extended a dilapidated row of old buildings in the midst of heaps of filth alike offensive and dangerous to all who had to be near them. Could this polluted piece of earth ever be converted into verdant lawns and umbrageous paths — this hades of ash heaps and tin cans and innumerable forms of dirtiness, into a paradise of bloom and beauty? It demanded the vision of a seer to forecast for it such a bright destiny; but inspired with something akin to faith the work was begun, — and, presto! an Eden where before was a desert waste. On her park system Boston has already expended over ten millions, and probably it will require as much more to complete it. A wiser expenditure of money was never made by any American city, and she is already reaping the benefit of her enterprise and liberality. Portland will be wise to follow her example; and as she possesses great natural advantages, she can do so with a good prospect of success.



DIAMOND ISLAND.



LINCOLN PARK.

Up to the fire of 1866 Portland possessed no park ; but then, during a period of great suffering, when the demands upon her citizens were all too great to be satisfied, the city council was wise enough and broad enough to purchase and set apart for public use a park in the midst of the burnt district. It was a commendable undertaking, and furnished one of the best exhibitions of wise enterprise which Portland has ever made. This park was named for our martyred President, Lincoln. The benefit which the public derived from the opening of Lincoln Park awakened popular interest in public grounds. Deering's Woods, the haunt of Portland's youth for generations, whose beauties Longfellow had embalmed in poetic memories, were regarded by all as most suitable for park purposes. These extensive grounds, so near the best residential portion of the city, were valuable for building purposes ; and the severe loss which the people had sustained from the great fire rendered the immediate acquisition of the woods impracticable. This was fully realized by the Deering heirs, who with commendable generosity conveyed them to the city. Under the wise administration of the Park Commission, whose chairman, Mr. A. W. Smith, has devoted himself

personally to their development, Deering's Woods have become a park in which the citizens of Portland take a commendable pride. Here they take the strangers who visit the city, and in the shadows of the ancient oaks repeat to them the familiar lines of Longfellow's "My Lost Youth : "

" And Deering's Woods are fresh and fair,
And with joy that is almost pain
My heart goes back to wander there,



STATE STREET.

And among the dreams of the days that were
I find my lost youth again.
And the strange and beautiful song,
The groves are repeating it still :
' A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long
thoughts. '

That no one may forget these lines they have been inscribed upon a table of stone



A FOREGLIMPSE OF THE ENTRANCE TO THE NEW PARK.

over the fireplace in the picturesque shelter near the entrance.

The city of Portland, occupying as it does a point of land extending into the waters of Casco Bay, would, if the land were level and but slightly elevated, be favorably situated for residence; but with a considerable eminence at either extremity, from which extensive views may be had of the country and White

Mountains to the west and north, and the island-dotted waters of Casco Bay and the Cape Elizabeth shore to the east and south, it is more beautifully situated for a residential city than any other on the Atlantic coast. The people of Portland have not been slow to recognize the beauties of their surroundings and the capabilities which they afford for improvement: they have therefore begun a



AS IT MAY BE IN THE PROPOSED PARK.

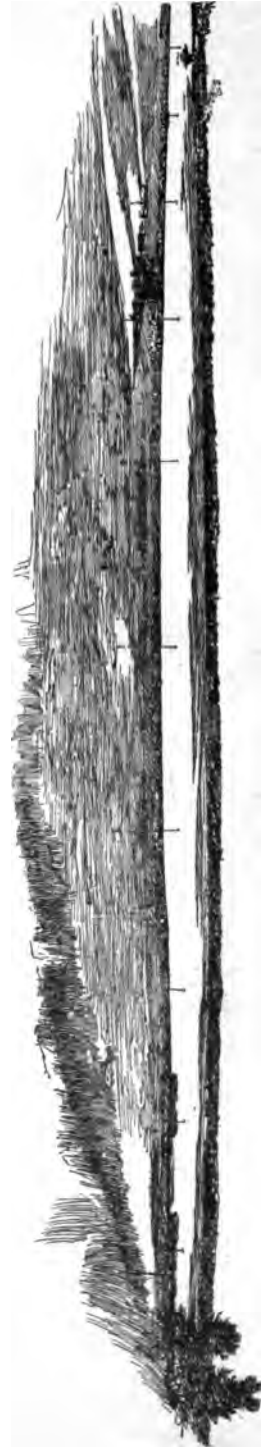
system of improvements upon the two hills, Munjoy and Bramhall's, over whose summits and slopes, with the intervening valley, their city has spread itself. Partially encircling each of these hills a broad driveway has been laid out, which when adorned with trees and shrubbery will be extremely attractive.

Although much has been done in improving these two promenades, much remains to be accomplished. Adjoining lands are to be acquired, and arbor ways and outlooks created, such as landscape architects now so artistically fashion. From the Bramhall promenade, upon which the landscape gardener has done some modest but commendable work, a beautiful strip of country is spread before the visitor. Not only does the eye rest delightedly upon outlying hamlets and villages, green fields, wide woodlands and gleaming waters; but when the atmosphere is clear, upon the White Mountains, nearly a hundred miles distant, whose lofty slopes beaming in the sunlight reveal the reason why the savages so aptly named them the crystal hills and believed them to be the abode of spirits, the happy hunting grounds which they hoped finally to attain.

From the eastern promenade an entirely different view is obtained. From Fort Allen Park, a small park laid out on the southern extremity of Munjoy, we may look out over the waters of Casco Bay to the gleaming waters of the Atlantic dotted with innumerable sails, or may glance directly down upon the harbor, where "commerce plies its busy trade," and watch the ships unloading at the wharves and steamers and vessels with outspread sails moving here and there; or may follow the Cape Elizabeth shore, taking in the forts and lighthouses and ever increasing lines of summer cottages, around to the islands which Christopher Levett, nearly two and three quarters centuries ago, looked upon and thought worthy to describe to his noble patrons in England,—namely, House, Cushing's, Peak's and Diamond, now adorned with summer cottages, as alluring to those who draw near their charming shores as the Hesperides of which the poets have sung so persistently, but which were not a whit more beautiful than these "gems of Casco Bay." Or one may pass round toward the north and delightedly follow the panorama of sea and island to the cove-indented shores of old Falmouth, as beautiful a scene as may be found in this world of beauty.

On the side of Munjoy looking down upon the city is another small park called Fort Sumner Park, which affords a bird's-eye view of the city, of great beauty. Standing here and looking over the scene, one is impressed more than anywhere else with the wonderful beauty of situation possessed by Portland. To the south and east lies Casco Bay with its

SITE OF THE PROPOSED NEW PARK.



numberless islands opening into the broad Atlantic; to the north and west, a magnificent sweep of country walled by magnificent mountains extending along the entire western horizon. Nearer lie the "breezy domes of Deering's woods."

But in this direction the eye encounters, if the tide be out, a blot which mars the surrounding beauty. It is the ill-odored spot known as Back Bay. It was doubtless owing to its oozy waste that the savages came to name the neck "Machegonne"—a place of much slime. To improve this foul place, alike dangerous to the health and offensive to the eye, a plan has been elaborated which will change it into a water park, and which, if the scheme is carried out, will give

intermingled with clumps of flowering shrubbery, will change one of these points, now covered with rank grass, into a paradise. Here rustic shelters may be erected and refectories maintained for the convenience and pleasure of visitors, and mazy paths amid sheltering shrubbery take the place of muddy creeks. Back a short distance from the water line, a broad corso for carriages may be laid out, commanding an uninterrupted view of the water from all points around the shore. Separated from this carriage road by trees and shrubbery, amid which paths and arbor ways for pedestrians may be constructed similar to those in the arboretum and other parts of the Franklin Park system, it is proposed to lay out

an equestrian way, which can be made one of the most attractive features of the park.

The high ground which surrounds the Back Bay, and which is now of insignificant value, will afford hundreds of fine building sites and make this the most attractive portion of the Back Bay region. With this park completed and connected with the promenades



BASIN, NEW PARK.

Portland a unique park system. The plan is to dam the waters of the bay and to lay out around its shores a park. By filling a short distance from high-water mark and building a sea-wall so as to preserve a depth of water about the shores sufficient for sailing yachts and steam launches, Portland will possess the finest sheet of water for regattas and other marine sports to be found on the seaboard. Taking advantage of the undulating line of the shore, its indentations and projecting points, the landscape architect will have ample scope for the exercise of his art. What can be done with such natural features has been shown in *Franklin Park, Boston*. Groups of *evergreens, mingled with birches, willows and other deciduous trees of light foliage,*

and Deering's Oaks, Portland and its suburbs will offer advantages for residence unequalled by any city in New England. Indeed, it is becoming every year more and more sought by summer tourists on account of its situation on the sea. A fleet of pleasure steamers afford the summer resident water excursions in every direction. One may skirt the rockbound shores of Cape Elizabeth, visit the numerous islands in the bay, trace the romantic coves and headlands of old Falmouth, or take a farther flight to Harpswell or the storied Orr's Island, within the compass of a few hours. When Portland shall have completed her park system, adorning herself within as she is already adorned without, no city on the continent will match her as a residential city.



JOHN CABOT AND HIS DISCOVERIES

BY HON. JAMES P. BAXTER



JOHN CABOT AND HIS DISCOVERIES.

BY HON. JAMES P. BAXTER.

THE map of the world at the time of the Norman Conquest of England was confined to Europe, a fragment of Western Asia, and Northern Africa. Outside of this limited area all was a dark waste. Even India was practically unknown to Europe. From the time of Alexander it had been a fabulous land overflowing with riches, but these were only reached by the infidel merchantmen of the East. It was left to the Crusaders to open the eyes of Europeans to the importance of the Indian traffic and the methods by which it was prosecuted.

Near the close of the thirteenth century, Marco Paulo, an enterprising merchant of Venice, undertook the perilous adventure of a journey to this wonderland, and succeeded in reaching it, and visiting its principal marts. Paulo's exploration of Cathay and his story of its wealth stimulated adventure; geographical learning was fostered, and the mariners of Venice became noted throughout Europe for their skill, while her wealth and splendor, second only to the opulence and magnificence of Cathay, the source of her grandeur, became the burden of poetry and romance.

Generations came and went, and Venice continued to enjoy her monopoly of the Indian traffic. It seemed

as though such prosperity could never end; but in the fifteenth century the discovery of printing evidenced the opening of a new era in human progress. Already the genius of Gioja had opened the vision of mankind to the possibility of highways across the watery desert, which, trackless and unexplored, had hitherto limited maritime enterprise in the West; and to realize to man the benefit of Gioja's achievement, Gutenberg was to supplement it by another, which indefinitely multiplying the records of human thought and experience, and scattering them to the obscurest corners of the civilized world, would make it possible for them to take root, and finally to flower and fruit into new ideas and achievements.

The morning of the fifteenth century had found Cathay as it had been for centuries, the synonym for all things rare and precious; the treasure-house from which Northern and Western Europe drew their luxuries through the golden gate of the Mediterranean, jealously guarded by the lion of San Marco; but as the century advanced, under the stimulus of letters which diffused a knowledge of strange countries, and encouraged speculative thought, the question of reaching the treasures of India by the sea received consideration; and if the sphericity of the earth were true, why not by sailing to the west? Probably no student of the subject doubted for a moment the feasibility of the undertaking, and to this belief are due the voyages which resulted in bringing the western continent, during this century, to the attention of Europe. For this great service mankind is indebted to Roman

subjects. The spirit which had impelled the people of pagan Rome to go forth to the conquest of distant lands, had survived the changes which fifteen centuries of war and violence had wrought, and now animated the people of papal Rome in a more enlightened era, not only to open channels of traffic to distant lands, but to the discovery and conquest of countries in parts of the globe hitherto unknown. To seven of these, all Italians, the world owes a peculiar debt ; to Gioja for his invention of the mariner's compass ; to Columbus, Cabot, Vespucci and Verrazano for their discoveries ; to Martyr for the first history of America, and to Benzoni for the first book of travels in the newly discovered lands of romance and mystery.

Of these noted discoverers, John Cabot, in the interest of England, was the first to discover the American continent, on June 24, 1497 ; unless, as has been contended, Vespucci preceded him in its discovery on the sixth of the same month ; Columbus, in the interest of Spain, having reached it on July thirty-first of the following year, and Verrazano, in the interest of France, on the seventh of March, 1524. Before the discovery of the continent, however, it had been disposed of by Rome, who on May 4, 1493, bestowed upon Spain all undiscovered lands west of a meridian line one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands.

The history of the efforts of Spain to hold the magnificent gift bestowed upon her by the common father of Roman Catholic monarchs for her assumption of the championship of the faith is interesting, but the

subject is hardly within our present limits. That these efforts were cruel beyond conception we know, since they stain too deeply for effacement the early pages of American history ; but they were futile ; indeed, it is a fact pregnant with irony, that the success of the Italian discoverers in the interests of rival monarchs, resulted, after long and bitter struggles for the possession of the land which they equally coveted, in the defeat of the Roman Catholic cause, to which these discoverers were sincerely espoused ; a defeat so complete, as to give to those, who had inherited the liberal and anti-Roman thought of their Teutonic ancestors, the sovereignty of the continent, and the planting thereon of a commonwealth grander than any before known to mankind.

When the news of the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus spread through Europe, it awakened a warm interest in those engaged in maritime enterprises. Among those who listened eagerly to the wonderful story was John Cabot, a Genoese, later a citizen of Venice, who a score of years before had gone to London "to follow the trade of Marchandises." Cabot, before establishing himself in England had been a student of cosmography and the science of navigation, a favorite study with the youth of Genoa and Venice, whose merchants well merited the proud title of princes, so generally accorded them.

When John Cabot was an active youth, climbing the vine-clad terraces of Genoa, or lounging about the crowded quays, regarding with admiration the motley press of mariners, whose skin, tanned by wind and

sun, suggested to his imagination voyages in strange seas and wanderings in mysterious lands, Venice had reached the height of her commercial glory. Never had such wealth and luxury been displayed in any city as were seen in her marts of traffic, her gorgeous palaces, her magnificent churches and thronged piazzas, or floated on "gondolas full laden" along her crystal thoroughfares, realizing more than the bewildering splendors of Turner's immortal dream; but before the fifteenth century had passed its meridian, a shadow presaging ill, fell athwart this glowing vision of prosperity. The Saracens, who had aforetime given way before the banner of the cross, gathering their fierce hordes on the borders of her dominions, afflicted the proud republic to such a degree, that she hastened to secure a peace with her barbaric foe, which, however, did not long continue.

Disturbed by war, stripped of her eastern provinces by Mohammed II., the Euxine closed to her commerce, and neighboring nations pushing maritime enterprises to a point which threatened to cut off the sources of her former prosperity, the future of the Queen of the Adriatic seemed dark indeed.

Discouraged by the prospect before them, many of her enterprising merchants sought opportunities to advance their fortunes in foreign lands. Among these, as before intimated, was John Cabot, who had already journeyed to Arabia and, while standing in the shadow of the great mosque of Mecca, had seen the caravans depositing their burdens of precious merchandise in the busy bazaars of the sacred city.

Leaving his native country with his family, he first visited London, but later took up his residence in the city of Bristol, probably in the suburb, singularly enough christened Cathay, in honor of the oriental city of that name, probably on account of its being the residence of merchants who dealt in Indian merchandise.

Here was John Cabot pursuing his commercial enterprises, of which, unfortunately, we know nought, when he heard of the discovery made by his countryman. Deeply moved by the news of the event, which he characterized as "more divine than humane," yet which was perhaps but a partial realization of one of his waking dreams, Cabot resolved to trace for himself a pathway to Cathay by pursuing a northwesterly course across the Atlantic.

One may well picture the grave cosmographer in his humble home in Bristol, discussing with his wife and sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus, the future voyage. The last two were doubtless English born, and had grown to manhood in the ancient city, to whose mural gates, even then, the forest crowded, giving shelter to the wild deer, which herded among the low hills beyond. But before any practical results could be achieved in this splendid enterprise, the parsimonious monarch who then occupied the English throne, must be consulted.

Henry VII., whose envy had been quickened by the success of his brother of Spain, was in a mood friendly to Cabot's project, and he at once bestowed upon him and his sons a parchment granting them the

privilege of sailing "east, west or north—to seek out, discover and find heathen lands," and to "subdue, occupy and possess" them for the crown, but "upon their own proper costs and charges"; in consideration of which privileges, they were to yield him one-fifth of the profits of their labors.

This parchment was dated March 5, 1496, and the first voyage of the Cabots of which any account has been preserved, was undertaken in May, 1497, fourteen months after its date.¹

During this time the peace of the country was disturbed, not only by Scotland, who actively supported the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck to the throne, but by domestic insurrections fomented by Warbeck himself, which hindered preparations for the contemplated voyage. In the beginning of May, however, the friends of Cabot witnessed his departure from the port of Bristol, on the voyage which was to render his name immortal.

The month of May passed, June drew to a close, and the daring adventurers kept on their course, ever toward the northwest. Thus far they had scanned the horizon for land in vain; nothing but a dreary waste of waters had met their vision. We have no record, as in the case of Columbus, of what passed on

¹ I have ignored as trivial the controversy relative to an earlier date for Cabot's discovery, based upon an inscription on a map in the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, of Paris, made in 1544, to this effect. "This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, on the twenty-fourth of June, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, MCCCCXCIV." (1494.) Everything disproves the correctness of this date, especially the correspondence of the time in which the discovery was announced, as for instance, a letter of Pasqualigo, a London merchant, to his brother in Venice, dated August 23, 1497; of Riamondo de Soncino, envoy of the Duke of Milan, August 24, 1497, and the date of the parchment to Cabot by Henry VII., August 10, 1497, for discovery of the "New Isle."

board Cabot's ship, the *Matthew*, but we may properly imagine the eager anxiety with which Cabot scanned the west. Doubtless there were, indeed there must have been, those on board who shook their heads wisely, and predicted failure; who even mutinously murmured against the bold captain; however, on the twenty-fourth of June, at daybreak, a gray line was observed on the horizon. Was it a slender cloud just rising from the sea, or was it the long-looked-for land? Every eye was strained to the utmost to ascertain what it really was. As the sun rose it began to assume definite form, and to their great joy it proved to be land. Surely it was the coast of the Great Cham's dominion and the problem of reaching India had been solved. Such was the first opinion of Cabot. In the excitement of the moment he named it *Prima Vista*, and lowering a boat, went on shore. It was Saint John's day, and the good saint was not to be forgotten. An island near by afforded an opportunity to commemorate him, and was therefore named Saint John's Island.

Everything which the wondering eyes of the adventurers beheld was novel and strange. The land upon which they gazed had never before been pressed by the foot of a European. Mines of gold and precious stones might be near at hand; indeed, they might soon behold the very sources of India's great wealth, which had so long dazzled Europe.

In this state of mind they prepared a cross, and planting it in the earth with the banners of Saint George and Saint Mark floating over it, these pioneers

of England in the New World gathered about it with bowed heads, by this solemn act taking possession of the country in behalf of their king and people.

Although they watched warily for the appearance of men, none were seen, but by-and-by they came upon fallen trees bearing marks which attracted their attention. Were they made by human agency? So they opined; but soon all doubt of the near presence of men was removed, for here were snares set for the capture of beasts, and there, a needle of bone, lost by some savage, who had passed that way. It would not do to linger here and expose his company to the danger of attack from a foe, whose strength was unknown, and hastening to the shelter of his ship, Cabot set sail.

His course from this time becomes somewhat uncertain, but it would seem that he kept a northerly course along the forbidding shores of Labrador, till he reached the vicinity of Cape Chudleigh.

Everywhere were wonders to attract the attention and rouse the superstitious fears of his men. They would not go farther into the dark and dangerous North, and they murmured against the intrepid navigator, who knew no fear. With a mutinous crew, nothing could be done but to change his course towards the south, and this he did, skirting the coast of Newfoundland, which he took to be an archipelago, till he reached Cape Race, from whence, with a meager larder, he turned the prow of the *Matthew* towards England, which was reached in August.

The news of John Cabot's discovery was at once bruited over Europe, and excited others to emulate his example. In England he was the hero of the hour, and whenever he appeared in the streets of Bristol, richly appareled after the fashion of wealthy Venetians, crowds gathered about him, eager to see, and if chance offered, to question the great mariner, who had discovered the new land for England.

To the cruel bigot, who wrought his dismal schemes in the gloom of the Escorial, the news which he received from his envoy, Pedro de Ayala, was distasteful, and from that moment no opportunity was lost to obliterate all evidence of the great discovery, or to thwart English efforts in that direction.

Although the motley populace applauded, and the learned listened to him with grave approval, the importance of Cabot's discovery was hidden from them, as is so often the case with events which Providence has in especial charge; yet this discovery was to be the corner-stone of all England's future pretensions to the American continent.

When Cabot and his companions returned home, although the Scots no longer threatened the border, and the battle of Blackheath had been fought, practically settling the fate of Warbeck, the din of arms still disturbed the land. The news, however, which he brought, was of so much importance, that the king listened with interest to his stories of far-off seas, so crowded with fish as to render the spoil of nearer waters profitless, and of lands which might embosom treasures of infinite value. The "Great Admiral," as

he was now designated, had depicted the new land on a map, and had even constructed a globe showing its position thereon. He would skirt the coast from Prima Vista towards the tropics, and lo! Cipango, the island of spices and jewels, which would create in London a mart grander than that of far-famed Alexandria. It was an alluring prospect, and the thrifty king not only bestowed upon him a small gift, but granted him an annual pension to be paid from the revenues of the port of Bristol; besides, he licensed him to charter six ships and to enlist as many men as he might need to accompany him on a new expedition.

In the spring of 1498, John Cabot with probably his son Sebastian, accompanied by three hundred men, sailed from the port of Bristol with a fleet of fine vessels. The sailing of so important a fleet on an expedition which had excited such wide spread attention, was an event of too much interest to the people of Bristol to have passed unnoticed, and although no contemporary account of it has been preserved, we know that street, quay and old bridge, with its rambling houses overhanging it, were thronged with people eager to see the adventurers depart. From the number of men who accompanied Cabot, we must conclude that it was the intention to plant a colony at some place favorable to such an undertaking. The course of the fleet was towards the northwest, the region of ice, fog and tempest, but the vernal gales wafted it auspiciously from the pleasant shores of England, and all promised well for the adventurers, until as usual in those days of crude naval architecture, one of the

high-sterned, awkward ships became crippled, and it was decided best to send her back.

The other ships, after parting with their companion, held on their course, until the sterile shores of Iceland came to view. From here, Cabot set his course towards Labrador, a country, says Gomara, where "the land is utterly sterile and fruitless." This country he named "De la Tierra de los Baccalaos," for, as he sailed, his ships were at times almost "stayed" in their course by the vast schools of codfish through which they passed. It was a forbidding land. The rock-bound shores, flecked with masses of grisly moss, and bristling with a stunted growth of shaggy trees, shot in beetling crags above them, or broken in ragged masses almost to the level of the sea, which lashed itself into gleaming foam against these flinty barriers, made constant vigilance the price of safety.

Birds, strange in form and plumage, scared from their solitary haunts by the passing ships, flew screaming about them in countless numbers, and huge whales rising from the sea, rolled and plunged awkwardly about in sportive fashion ; or, sprawling on some sunlit ledge, a bulky monster with tusks milk white, and eyes almost human in expression, would slip into the sea and vanish from vision like the phantom of a troubled dream. Again, as they passed some wooded slope, where the snows were dissolving in the meager sunlight, a stag, larger than they had ever beheld, would start up, and shaking his antlered head, dash into the thicket to be seen no more ; or as they passed some quiet cove, they would witness a stranger sight,

for here the bears, undisturbed by man, would watch for the fish as they swarmed along the shore, cod and salmon and soles "about a yard in length," and seizing the lissome things with their sharp claws, would draw them a-land to satisfy their hunger.

Cabot had brought men with him to leave at some suitable spot. They were largely criminals, probably men who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and these he landed, leaving them to establish themselves in the country as best they could, while he passed on towards the north, in search of an open passage to the west. It was not long before the inhabitants of this wild land were seen, uncouth and brutish men, clad in the furs of beasts. Surprise and dread were mutual. By the English, these wild men, weaponed with bow and arrow, sling, spear and club, and regaling themselves on raw flesh, were regarded as leaguers of the prince of darkness; while they, peering furtively from some coigne of vantage at the white-winged monsters, which had so suddenly invaded their hitherto undisturbed solitudes, looked upon the white men whom they bore, as beings of a higher sphere. So passed Cabot onward towards the north, amid glittering icebergs, at night beholding with superstitious dread the heavens flaming from horizon to zenith with ruddy light, as in apocalyptic vision, and finding the land ever running to the north to his "great displeasure." Entering the open waters of Hudson's Straits, the intrepid navigator would have doubtless kept on, but his men, made of less heroic stuff, mutinied, and refused to proceed farther, so he was compelled to turn back and follow the coast southward.

But how fared it with the men whom he had landed? Their fate is obscure. It is said that nearly all perished from cold, which might imply that some did not, and that these were either taken on board again by Cabot upon his return, or subsequently escaped. Be this as it may, Cabot coasted southward, probably keeping in sight the pleasant shores which stretch from Maine to Florida, when finding his provisions becoming scanty, and no opening to the west to reward his long search, he set his course for England, bearing with him three natives of the country, whom he had secured, probably with the intention of using them in the future for interpreters. These men, clad in the skins of wild beasts, feeding on raw flesh, and "in their demeanor like to brute beasts," Cabot presented to the king, and, although their appearance was then so unpromising, two years later Robert Fabian saw two of them in Westminster palace, in English costume, and mistook them for Englishmen, so greatly had their appearance changed.

The news of Cabot's success, to which a novel interest was added by the appearance of the wild men whom he had brought from the new land, was eagerly listened to, and gave a fresh impulse to the spirit of adventure. Henry, however, distracted by the cares of government, declined the proffered services of the successful navigator for a voyage the next year, and although it has been supposed that Cabot undertook discovery on his own account, we have no certain knowledge of this; indeed, we strangely lose sight of the "Great Admiral," and his son Sebastian, whose fame was to eclipse that of his father, comes promi-

nently into view. Whether he merited this fame is a question. Although he lived threescore years after the discovery of America by his father, and occupied offices of great distinction under the Spanish crown, he certainly accomplished nothing to warrant the reputation which he enjoyed ; and we must largely attribute this fame to the achievements of his father, which he unfilially appropriated to himself.

It is unfortunate that we do not possess a detailed account of the Cabot voyages. That very valuable material relating to them existed when Hakluyt published his *Divers Voyages* in 1582, we know, for he gives us to understand that he had “ overseene all of Sebastian Cabote’s own mappes and discourses drawne and written by himselfe, which are in the custodie of Master William Worthington.” This is the last we know of these precious documents, and as Worthington was placed in the office of Sebastian Cabot by Philip of Spain, shortly after the latter took up his abode in England as the consort of Queen Mary, it has been conjectured that they found their way into Spanish hands, like many other English documents relating to western discovery. If so, Spain profited little by them, for English gall was better than Spanish guile, and won of right, and though the interesting details of John Cabot’s great discovery are lost to the world, his fame is safe, for he gave to England a great continent, which we as his successors enjoy ; and while that continent exists, the name of John Cabot will be known as its discoverer.

Death makes no conquest of this conquerer,
For now he lives in fame though not in life.

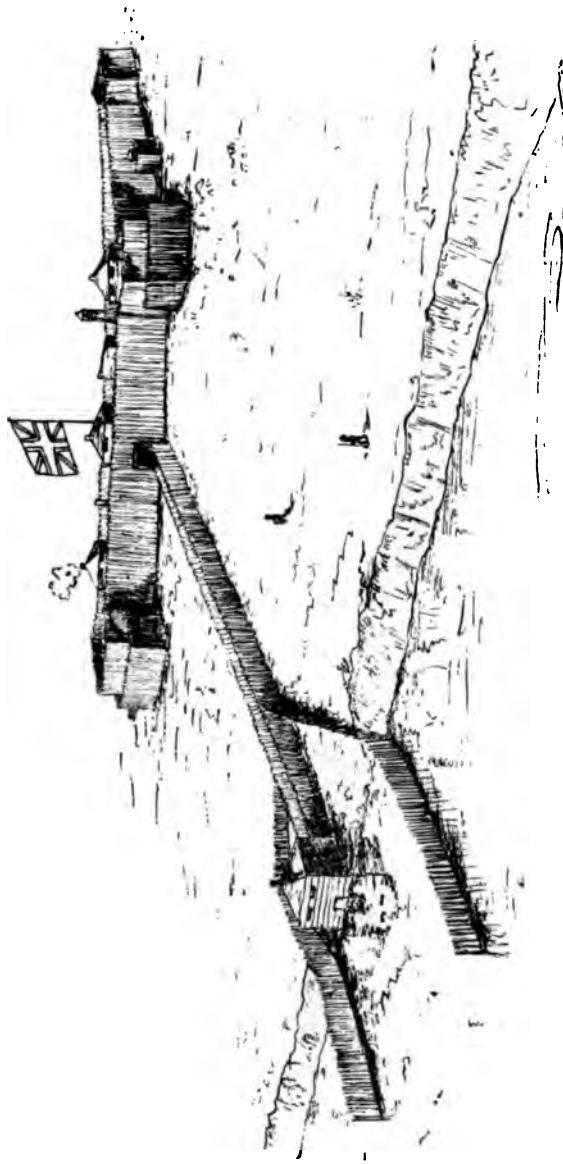
[REDACTED]



NEW CASCO FORT

BY JAMES P. BAXTER





FORT AT NEW CASCO, BUILT BY COL. REDKNAP, IN 1705.

NOTE.—The ground plan of this fort was found in the office of the Public Records, London, by James P. Baxter, in 1886.

NEW CASCO FORT.

BY JAMES P. BAXTER.

This spot, overlooking the bright waters of Casco Bay, full of life and motion; this spot, with its quiet summer cottages, nestling in shadowy nooks and clustering upon breezy slopes, is an historic spot, though such it may not appear to-day. Here have memorable scenes been enacted; here have gathered prominent actors in the early history of New England, European and savage, and played their transitory parts. The curtain of Time has fallen upon them, as it falls upon all human activities and events, hiding them from view; but imagination may reproduce them, though in less glowing colors than they once possessed. Let us then, standing here this afternoon, go back two hundred years into the past, and as far as we are able, mingle in the scenes of that far-off day.

As you know, our forefathers had before them the ever present danger of attack from savage enemies, and, at times, from their more formidable neighbors. This compelled them to erect fortifications in the vicinity of their settlements; in fact, protection against human foes was regarded by the pioneer settler as of vital importance to the well-being of himself and family, hardly second to protection against the elements. The first house erected in the vicinity of Portland was a fortified one, strong enough to resist

the crude methods of savage warfare ; but later, when the savages were instructed and were led by Europeans, more elaborate structures became necessary. Such was the fort erected upon the spot called then New Casco, to distinguish it from Old Casco, the present Portland, which had been destroyed, with its protecting fortification known as Fort Loyal, with many of its inhabitants, in the spring of 1690 by the French and Indians, led by Portneuf, Hertel and Castine. Nine years after the destruction of Old Casco, a handful of those who had escaped slaughter returned to the vicinity of their desolated homes. Instead, however, of beginning a settlement upon the ruins of the old town, perhaps on account of painful associations connected therewith, or the desolation which must have been unpleasantly evident at every turn, they selected a spot not far from the mouth of the Presumpscot, near where we now stand, for the site of their new settlement, and in the year 1700 a military engineer, Colonel Romer, was employed by the government to erect here for the protection of the settlers, a fortification, which was called New Casco Fort, which subsequently gave to this headland the name of Fort Point. Previous to this it had been called Andros Field.

The New Casco Fort was a quadrilateral structure, and for its time one of considerable strength. It occupied nearly a half-acre of land and in the northwest and southeast angles were bastions, the faces of which were thirty feet in length, while in the opposite angles were lofty outlooks, from which a watch could

be kept upon the surrounding country. Around it was a *palisado*, as it was then called, which extended by a wing to a well about six rods southeast of the fort, thus protecting it from an enemy. Three years after its erection began another war, and this fort naturally attracted the attention of the foe. In August, 1703, the inhabitants of New Casco were alarmed by the approach of five hundred French and Indians, under the command of Sieur de Beaubassin, and sought refuge within the walls of the fort, which was under the command of Major March. Repelled by the vigorous defense of the garrison, a regular siege was begun, but was raised by the sudden appearance upon the scene of Captain Cyprian Southack, who attacked the besieging force and compelled its withdrawal, with considerable loss.

In the June following this event Governor Dudley, who had succeeded to the government the previous year, came with his council and an imposing retinue of soldiers to hold here a council with the savages headed by their chief sagamores, namely, Moxus and Hopegood, from Norridgewock; Wanungunt and Wanadugunbuent from the Penobscot; Bomazeen and Capt. Samuel from the Kennebec, and Mesambomett and Wexar from the Androscoggin, with a flotilla of sixty-five canoes, containing two hundred and fifty savages painted and armed after their rude fashion, and bearing in their bosoms nothing but ill-will to their English foes. Here, under a broad pavilion, Governor Dudley, in the gorgeous uniform belonging to his rank, surrounded by his staff and the officers and gentlemen

who had accompanied him from Boston, stood and welcomed the savage chiefs, who with their followers had encamped on an island near by, probably Mackworth, or the Brothers. After exchanging with them the courtesies proper upon such occasions, the governor gravely informed them, that being "commissioned by the great and victorious Queen of England, he came to visit them as his friends and brethren, and to reconcile whatever differences had happened since the last treaty." To this one of the savage orators replied, "We thank you, good brother, for coming so far to talk with us. The clouds fly and darken, but we still sing with love the songs of peace. Believe my words; so far as the sun is above the earth are our thoughts from war, or the least rupture between us." To prove the sincerity of his words he bestowed upon the governor a belt of wampum and invited him to two heaps of stones which had on a former occasion been erected as pillars of witness between the savages and English. Here the formal pledge of amity was formally renewed by each party adding more stones to the "Two Brothers," as the stone heaps were called. A salvo of guns was then discharged by both parties, the savages uttering wild acclamations of joy, and dancing and singing after their barbarous fashion. After this the council settled down to business, and discussed the establishment of trading-houses, the prices of commodities, and what was of much importance to the savages, the employment of a gunsmith to repair their guns when injured. Presents were exchanged, and, says Penhallow, "everything looked with a promising aspect of a

settled peace and that which afterward seemed to confirm it was the coming in of Capt. Bomazeen and Capt. Samuel, who informed that several missionaries from the Friars were lately come among them, who endeavored to break the union and seduce them from their allegiance to the crown of England, but had made no impression upon them, for that they were as firm as the mountains, and should continue so long as the sun and moon endured." This story, however, of Bomazeen and Samuel about the French missionaries and their rejection of their advice, was delusive, either intended to blind the English to the real intention of the savages, or the result of an exuberance of good feeling, promoted perhaps by a too free indulgence in the Englishman's "fire-water." Anyhow, in spite of the strong assertions that they would maintain peace, they immediately renewed the war; besides they then had with them Ral , who played so important a part in the history of these troublous times. We have Ral 's own account of his meeting with the governor on this occasion. He says that owing to the precipitate landing of the savages, he found himself, to his chagrin, in the presence of the governor, who perceiving him, came forward and saluted him after which he drew him apart and prayed him not to lead the savages to make war against the English. To which he replied that his religion and character engaged him to give them only counsels of peace.

This noted council between Governor Dudley and the eastern tribes was futile. The savages were wholly insincere, and hostilities were begun by them within a

few weeks. Penhallow tells us that during the meeting they were meditating treachery. He says, "I should have taken notice of two instances in the late treaty wherein the matchless perfidy of these bloody infidels did notoriously appear. First, as the treaty was concluded with volleys on both sides, as I said before, the Indians desired the English to fire first, which they readily did, concluding it no other than a compliment; but so soon as the Indians fired, it was observed that their guns were charged with bullets having contrived (as was afterwards confirmed) to make the English the victims of that day. But Providence so ordered it, as to place their chief councilors and sachems in the tent where ours were seated, by which means they could not destroy one without endangering the other. Second, as the English waited some days for Watanummon (the Pigwacket sachem) to complete their council, it was afterward discovered that they only tarried for a reenforcement of two hundred French and Indians, who in three days after we returned, came among them; having resolved to seize the governor, council and gentlemen and then to sacrifice the inhabitants at pleasure, which probably they might have done, had they not been prevented by an overruling power.

"But notwithstanding this disappointment, they were still resolved on their bloody design; for within six weeks after, the whole eastern country was in a conflagration, no house standing, no garrison unattacked. August 10, at nine in the morning, they began their bloody tragedy, being about five hundred

Indians of all sorts, with a number of French; who divided themselves into several companies, and made a descent on the several inhabitants from Casco to Wells, at one and the same time, sparing none of every age and sex. As the milk-white brows of the grave and ancient had no respect shown, so neither had the mournful cries of tender infants the least pity; for they triumphed at their misery, and applauded such as the skillfulest artists, who were most dexterous in contriving the greatest tortures; which was enough to turn the most stoical apathy into streams of mournful sympathy and compassion."

Dudley's visit to the fort at New Casco impressed upon him the necessity of a stronger structure at this important outpost, and under the superintendence of Col. Redknap, a military engineer of reputation, a much larger fortification was erected. When completed, in 1705, it was an oblong quadrilateral with bastions at its several angles, and was two hundred and fifty-eight feet wide, by three hundred and forty-six feet long, measured outside its bastions. It included within its walls something over an acre. On two sides were sally ports, the eastern one being sheltered by a redan of stockades. In the southwest angle was a large cistern to supply the garrison with water during a siege, and it included within its walls, storehouses, shops, barracks and quarters for officers. To make it more effective, there was a protected passageway to the shore on the south, so arranged as to afford a shelter for the boats belonging to the garrison. From an old French copy of an English map

of this period it would appear that there was a greater depth of water on the south shore of the point than there is now. During the fierce war which continued for several years, the people abandoned their settlements hereabouts, but the New Casco Fort was kept garrisoned, and was under command of Major March until 1707, when he was succeeded by Major Samuel Moody, who held command until the close of the war, in 1713.

After the close of the war, the subject of abandoning the forts on the eastern frontier was considerably agitated. We can hardly understand the position assumed by those opposed to maintaining forts for the protection of our eastern frontiers, but there was a strong party in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in favor of abandoning and even of demolishing these necessary adjuncts of its sovereignty in Maine. Governor Dudley was, however, wisely in favor of preserving them, but when he went out of office in 1715, the opportunity was seized upon by those opposed to his policy, and an order was hurried through the House to demolish Casco Fort, which was at once carried into execution.

I have spoken of Capt. Cyprian Southack, that most energetic officer, who took a conspicuous part in the war which raged around Fort Casco. In one of his letters dated Casco Bay, May 17, 1703, he writes as follows to Governor Dudley :—

Sir, on the eleventh of May, at two o'clock afternoon, we got off the dead man from Cousin's Island, and no sign of any French or Indians about the Bay. At seven o'clock afternoon, came down

to the fort (New Casco) and the next morning we buried the man at our heap of stones.

I well remember how on a pleasant morning, while at breakfast, I was called upon by Captain Waite, now proprietor of a part of Fort Point, who desired me to go with him to the Point and see a relic which had just been unearthed by some workmen who had been digging near a summer cottage recently erected. It was the skeleton of a tall man, probably not over thirty years of age when he died, judging from the teeth. Across it lay a long rapier, or officer's sword, almost destroyed by rust, telling the tale of a hasty burial, and of the occupation of him across whose breast it had been laid by friends, for such they must have been who placed it there. The burial had been made on a little point in an ancient kitchen midden, or shell heap, probably because a place of burial could be more easily prepared here than in the land adjacent. It was a dry spot which would preserve such relics for a long time, and there can be little doubt that we saw before us a victim of one of those early wars between the English and their savage enemies.

The two heaps of stones, the pillars of witness, could not have been far away; indeed, near them was a fitting place for the burial of a victim of those who had disregarded a treaty which these pillars were reared to commemorate. Who was this silent guest whom we had been summoned to behold? He had been a child beloved by a mother. He had had friends who wept for his loss. Was he a young officer, buried on this little point so easily designated, that his body might, if desired

be found and removed home at some favorable time, or were these the remains of the man buried by Capt. Southack ? The world is full of mysteries which will never be revealed. Who can unravel this mystery of the skeleton at Fort Point ?

[REDACTED]





CITY OF PORTLAND

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. JAMES P. BAXTER

MAYOR

MARCH 9, 1896



CITY OF PORTLAND

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

Hon. Jas. P. Baxter, Mayor

MARCH 9, 1896



PORTLAND, ME.
THE THURSTON PRINT
1896

ADDRESS

OF


HON. JAMES P. BAXTER, MAYOR.

Gentlemen of the City Council : —

It is a time-honored and useful custom, at the opening of a new municipal year, for the Mayor, after taking his oath of office, to address both branches of the City Government in convention assembled, upon matters of public interest, reviewing the affairs of the year past, and presenting for consideration, such suggestions respecting the future, as may seem to him wise.

We all recognize the fact, if we are worthy of being elected to public office, that, from the moment we assume official responsibility, we become the servants of the people, whose interests have been entrusted to us, many of which are closely related to their welfare, and that we must so conduct affairs as to subserve the public weal, irrespective of private considerations.

Weighty duties and responsibilities are before us ; but if we apply ourselves conscientiously to our work, not permitting ourselves to be turned aside by friend or foe from the plain path of honest endeavor, we shall, upon laying down the burden of office at the close of the year, if we do not enjoy the approval of the unthinking and misinformed, at least preserve our self respect, a treasure with which no man can afford to part.



Accompanying this address are the reports of the various municipal departments, which I shall briefly review, trusting that at the proper time you will give them thorough and careful consideration.

Although business conditions are still unsatisfactory, and financial problems of grave import to the country are still awaiting solution, the credit of our city is unimpaired. This is shown by the fact that upon the first day of March six per cent. bonds of the city to the amount of forty-eight thousand dollars (\$48,000) became due, and under an order of the City Council approved January tenth, they were refunded with a like amount of four per cent. gold bonds, payable in twenty years. These bonds were sold at a premium of 8.19; a very gratifying result, when we consider that the sale was made in a somewhat close money market, with bank rates for first-class commercial paper at six per cent. You will also notice that the bonded debt of the city has been decreased during the year thirty-six thousand dollars (\$36,000), which amount has been paid from the sinking fund. The net debt has also been decreased twenty-seven thousand five hundred dollars (\$27,500), by using thirteen thousand dollars (\$13,000) from the appropriation required by law for this purpose, and fourteen thousand five hundred dollars (\$14,500) from money received from the Grand Trunk Railway on account of Galt's Wharf, and the surplus income over the estimate. During the coming financial year there will mature upon September 1, 1896, bonds to the amount of forty thousand five hundred dollars (\$40,500), and upon March 1, 1897, the same amount, or eighty-one thousand dollars (\$81,000) in all, a portion, if not all, of which can be paid from the sinking fund.

I renew my recommendation of former years to sell, as soon as practicable, the stock owned by the city in the Gas Company and the Portland and Ogdensburg Railroad, and to apply the proceeds to the extinguishment of the public debt.

The next subject to which I would call your careful attention is

PUBLIC EDUCATION,

a subject dear to the heart of every good citizen. During the summer vacation the schoolhouses were put in good repair, carefully cleansed; the old desks in many of the rooms replaced with new ones; new floors laid in the Center Street schoolhouse; and the sanitary arrangements in all of the buildings inspected and repaired where it was thought necessary. Before opening the schools for the fall term, an inspection was made by the committee on public buildings, accompanied by the supervisors of the different schools, and everything was pronounced by them to be in excellent condition. Owing, however, to the appearance of contagious disease in several of the schools, complaint was made of their sanitary condition, and two of them, the Butler and Chestnut Street schools, were temporarily closed, and considerable changes of a sanitary nature made, involving an expenditure of over two thousand dollars, which it is hoped will prove satisfactory. Fire escapes have been provided for the Monument and Center Street schoolhouses, which were greatly needed. For some time the citizens residing in the eastern portion of the city have felt the need of a new schoolhouse of modern construction to accommodate their children, and there can be no doubt in the minds of those who have given the subject attention, that the need is a pressing one. Not only should that portion of the city have a new schoolhouse at an early day, but the sanitary arrangements of the Monument Street schoolhouse should receive attention during the summer vacation; indeed, the sanitary arrangements of all of our school buildings should be carefully inspected, and defects corrected where any are found to exist.

The Manual Training School continues to gain in favor with parents and pupils, as well as with the teachers of ou

public schools. Experience demonstrates that the training of hand and eye, which necessarily involves careful measurements, the calculation and consideration of methods to apply to manual work, quickens and strengthens the intellect, thereby facilitating the acquisition of scholarship in departments of education strictly intellectual; besides, the bringing together of the children of the rich and poor in a common employment, useful to all, where competitive skill is recognized, is useful beyond calculation, in discouraging class distinctions, so foreign to a republic. Public kindergarten instruction which is akin to manual training, is also firmly established in the good-will of all who are acquainted with it, and our three schools devoted exclusively to it, are doing most excellent work. In my last inaugural I spoke of the near prospect which the city had of securing a new dormitory for the pupils of the

SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF.

The property adjoining the school building on Free street was subsequently purchased, and during the summer was remodeled under the supervision of E. Dudley Freeman, Esq., of the Governor's Council, who has made of it a building thoroughly adapted to the comfort and health of its inmates. The location of this dormitory in our city renders the establishment in its vicinity by the State of a well-equipped institution for the education of the deaf, a certainty at no remote day. Maine should possess such an institution, and one not inferior in any respect to that at Hartford or Northampton; and steps should be taken at the next meeting of the Legislature to bring the subject forcibly to its attention. Under the able management of Miss Taylor and her assistants, the efficiency of the school has been greatly increased, and so far as instruction goes, it is probably as good as any in the country. Some of the pupils in the school have proved apt in manual work, and a

large number of the new desks supplied during the year to our public schools were made by them. Industrial training is what the pupils in this school especially need, to enable them to secure a foothold in the world, a fact which everyone connected with the school recognizes. Of our High School but little need be said, because its work is so conspicuous. We have reason to be proud of it and of its able management. Every citizen of Portland who witnessed the recent military drill in the City Hall must have felt a thrill of pride at the manly deportment and soldierly skill displayed by the young men who participated in that exhibition. It would be well to extend the benefit of military exercise to other members of the school. If our high schools throughout the country, following the example of the Portland High School, would adopt the military drill, and pursue it with the zeal which her students have displayed, the country would soon possess a well disciplined force of young men ready to respond to the call of duty when their services were required.

THE EVENING SCHOOLS

have been well attended during the winter and have performed their usual work, which is one of great benefit to the community. Probably no appropriation made by you, is better expended than that for the work performed by these schools.

Before closing the subject of education I would direct your attention to the report of the Truant Officer, whose work is an important one, and also to that of the Superintendent of School Buildings. I wish also to testify to the faithfulness and efficiency of the Superintendent of Schools. In our Board of Supervisors the city is fortunate in having the services of so excellent a body of men, who are willing to devote so much of their time to the cause of education without remuneration.

THE REPORTS OF THE OVERSEERS OF THE POOR AND THE
CITY PHYSICIAN

should receive your careful attention. A great deal of time is devoted by these officers, and especially by Mr. Baker, the sagacious secretary of the board, to the welfare of those whom vice, inefficiency and misfortune have thrown like wrecks upon public charity. Many of these unfortunates are afflicted with disease, rendering the duties of the City Physician onerous in the extreme. These duties have been performed without friction and in a highly commendable manner. As I have before remarked, no outlay of money, not absolutely necessary for the immediate welfare of the inmates, should be made upon the present buildings, and but little has been expended for improvements or repairs during the past year. As it was, however, deemed necessary for the safety of the inmates, the Public Buildings Committee recently voted to place a fire escape upon the building occupied by the insane, which will, no doubt, meet with the approval of our citizens.

You will be gratified to see by the

REPORT OF THE CHIEF ENGINEER

of the Fire Department how small an amount has been lost by fire during the year, the total on buildings and personal property being but three thousand four hundred and sixty-six dollars (\$3,466). You will see that considerable repairs to apparatus have been made, and that considerable repairs are recommended to be made the coming year. It is, of course, important that our fire department should be kept up to its usual condition of efficiency, and I have no doubt that you will see that ~~this~~ is done, yet with the greatest economy consistent with good judgment. The fire alarm telegraph and telephone service has been greatly improved the past year, and is now in excellent condition. By an

exchange of poles, the Committee on Electrical Appliances have effected an arrangement with the New England Telephone Company by which the wires along a considerable portion of Congress street will be placed under ground. This is one step towards getting the unsightly and dangerous electric wires under ground, where it is to be hoped they will all go at no distant day. You will notice the recommendation to place a number of new hydrants both in the eastern and western portions of the city, a recommendation which I heartily endorse. I also commend to your thoughtful consideration the other recommendations of the Chief, whose good sense and wise management of this important department entitle his opinions to more than ordinary attention.

THE REPORT OF THE CITY ELECTRICIAN

will also be found of interest. Few of our citizens are aware of the complexity of the system under his charge, and how much professional skill and knowledge this officer must possess to entitle him to the chief management of so important a service. During the year many important improvements have been made in this department, greatly increasing its efficiency, and at the same time in the interest of economy. Among these, in place of the proposed fire alarm in the Oaks, an alarm has been placed in the power station at the end of Deering's bridge, thereby saving the city a considerable outlay of money. To enumerate all that has been done in this department would require too much time, hence I will refer you to the accompanying report for particulars.

By the

REPORT OF THE CITY SOLICITOR,

you will observe that many important suits against the city have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that although an unusually large number of claims have been

made upon the city for damages of various kinds, they have been disposed of at a trifling cost to the treasury.

As usual, considerable work, some of it unexpected, has been done upon our

PUBLIC BUILDINGS,

especially upon the school and engine houses. The extensive repairs to the plumbing in the Butler and Chestnut Street school buildings, the floors in the Center Street, and fire escapes on that and the Monument Street buildings, have already been mentioned. A considerable outlay has also been made upon the old engine house at the corner of Spring and South streets in order to accommodate the Veteran Fireman's Association, which was removed during the autumn from the City Building and installed there. The Armory, the erection of which was begun in July, is nearly completed, and you will be asked for an appropriation to erect the proposed auditorium adjoining. If this can be completed in season to receive the exhibits of the New England Fair in August, it will serve a most useful purpose, and perhaps determine the Association to hold its fairs here in succeeding years.

Steps have been taken to dispose of the Quarantine Station to the United States Government, and letters have been written by me, in accordance with a recent order, to our representatives in Congress, invoking their aid in the matter. If the sale is consummated, the city will not only recover the cost of the buildings, but also free itself from the cost of their maintenance; at the same time the work will doubtless be as well done by the United States officials as by our own.

I would again recommend the enlargement of the duties of the Superintendent of School Buildings, so that he may have the supervision of the repairs made upon all public buildings, and also have some oversight of their janitors,

who, I believe, should be selected for fitness rather than for political service, and only after passing an examination to determine whether they are competent to take charge of buildings heated by steam, and filled with children, and what, perhaps, is of as much importance, whether they are of good moral character.

I again repeat what I have formerly said, that the


UNIMPROVED AND UNUSED PROPERTY

belonging to the city should be sold and thereby converted into taxable property as quickly as possible. A number of lots upon the new streets opened on the Poor Farm have been sold the past year, and special efforts should be made to dispose of the remaining lots upon these streets. The opening of these streets has proved so successful that I would recommend the opening of other streets in the vicinity as soon as practicable.

You will see by the

REPORT OF THE HARBOR MASTER,

that he has performed much useful services, in moving vessels, breaking ice in the docks, keeping the channel clear of obstructions to navigation, and visiting vessels. During the summer a great deal of refuse timber is thrown into the docks, and allowed to drift about the harbor, endangering the safety of the many small steamers plying to the islands and along the coast. This is much complained of, and the present ordinance should be so amended as to make it incumbent upon the owners of docks to keep them at all times clear of drift, and responsible if they permit such material to float into the harbor. Steps should also be taken to improve the sanitary condition of our docks, by removing the sewage which has collected in them, and by enforcing the law against throwing refuse matter into them, thereby rendering them offensive and dangerous to health. In these foul



docks, receptacles containing thousands of live lobsters are kept, which are polluted by their foul surroundings, and rendered unfit for human food. The Board of Health are, I understand, to call your attention to this in their report.

You will also observe that the

REPORT OF THE INSPECTOR OF MILK AND VINEGAR

shows that this officer has been diligent in the performance of his duties; indeed his report shows most commendable efficiency. It is more important than most persons perhaps realize, that the commodities placed under his supervision should be pure; hence the zeal with which he has performed his services to the community should be recognized.

You will find the

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS

of a most interesting nature, owing to the extent of new work performed in his department, much of which is of a permanent nature. The Commercial Street sewer, which has been so long in process of construction, has been at last completed as far as the Hampshire Street sewer, its eastern terminus, as originally designed. You will note that the Commissioner recommends the building during the coming season of a new sewer to connect with the Hampshire Street sewer, through Franklin to Fore street, and the extension of the Commercial Street sewer westerly to Maple street.

In my last inaugural, I called attention to the proposed Back Bay sewer, for the improvement of the sanitary conditions of that region, plans for which had been prepared by the eminent sanitary engineer, Mr. Rudolph Hering of New York, in connection with the Commissioner of Public Works, and Mr. E. C. Jordan. The present drainage of the entire northern slope of the city, having a population of nearly twenty thousand (20,000), is discharged upon the flats of the bay, containing nearly five hundred (500) acres, which, at low water, are exposed to the action of the sun and air. The

plan adopted provides for an intercepting sewer extending easterly along the southern shore of the bay to a point near Tukey's bridge, from whence it will be carried to a temporary outlet near the Grand Trunk bridge, and eventually to Pomeroy's Rock. This sewer will be of sufficient capacity to receive the sewage from nearly the entire northern slope of the city, as well as that of a considerable portion of the city of Deering. A section of it, two thousand six hundred (2,600) feet in length has been laid out, and careful estimates of its cost made, and I earnestly recommend that an appropriation of twenty-three thousand dollars (\$23,000) be made for its construction, as I believe that the health of the city demands it. For a particular description of this important work I refer you to the Commissioner's report on sewers.

I also call your attention to that portion of his report relating to

STREETS,

by which you will see that even more work of a permanent nature has been accomplished than during the year previous. The paving of the westerly end of Congress street, from Ellsworth to St. John street, as it is one of the principal entrances to the city, was a much needed work, and the same may be said of the paving of Green street. In addition to the large amount of paving accomplished a much larger area of sidewalk has been laid than usual. The Commissioner recommends an amendment to the city ordinances relating to sidewalks, so that the material and labor shall be furnished by the city and half the cost assessed upon the abutting property.

The city is burdened with the maintenance of five

BRIDGES.

Upon Vaughan's bridge has been expended three thousand four hundred seventy-four and thirty-three one hundredths

(\$3,474.33) dollars ; upon Stroudwater bridge, which is wholly within the limits of Deering, four hundred twenty-seven and forty-six one hundredths (\$427.46) dollars ; upon Deering's bridge, of which half is in Portland, one hundred sixty-five and ninety-five one hundredths (\$165.95) dollars. Half of the expense of maintaining this bridge is borne by Deering. Pride's bridge, between the cities of Deering and Westbrook, is wholly maintained by the city. This bridge was carried away by the recent storm and must be rebuilt at a cost approximating seven thousand (\$7,000) dollars.

Upon former occasions I have called attention to the condition of Tukey's bridge, more especially to the demand of the United States Government for a new draw in place of and considerably wider than the present structure. After giving the subject due consideration, the Commissioner of Public Works and those whom he has consulted, have decided that it will be for the best interests of the city to replace the present bridge with one of iron, and as longer delay is believed to be unwise by those who are acquainted with the subject, I especially commend that portion of the Commissioner's report relating to this subject to your careful consideration. Intimately connected with this undertaking is the project for the improvement of Back Bay, plans for which are now being completed by Mr. Olmstead of Boston, with the advice and assistance of the Commissioner of Public Works and Mr. E. C. Jordan. These plans will at an early day be submitted to you for approval, and if adopted by you, the first step towards the accomplishment of this improvement may be taken, which is the acquisition of a certain portion of the shore line of the bay. It is to be expected that the owners of property around the bay will see that it will greatly enhance the value of their adjoining property to give to the city the land required, which is of insignificant value to them in its present condi-

tion. This accomplished, there can be but little doubt that an arrangement can be made with our sister City of Deering which will meet the approval of her citizens and ours. If these steps can be accomplished, an improvement of inestimable importance to the comfort and health of both communities will result with a small annual expenditure of money and without appreciably burdening the tax payer.

THE CEMETERIES AND PUBLIC GROUNDS

have received careful attention during the year and show considerable improvements. The Commissioners, as usual, have devoted themselves earnestly to their work, and the results are apparent. No money is better expended than that laid out upon public grounds, the property of the people, in which the poorest man in the community can enjoy the feeling of proprietorship. Everywhere in this country and in Europe, the beautifying of cemeteries, and especially of parks and principal thoroughfares of cities, has been found not only to greatly contribute to the health and comfort of their inhabitants, but to the growth and prosperity of the cities themselves. Our residential streets, when of sufficient width, should be adorned with esplanades; open spaces with fountains, statuary, shrubbery and flowers, while as much land as possible should be secured for parks and public playgrounds. A recent writer has pictured the city of the future in a manner to make one wish that his birth might have been delayed long enough to enable him to be born in such a city. A plan has been made for the widening of Portland street so that the electric railway tracks can be laid in the middle of the street and a generous driveway left on both sides. The approaches to a city should be made as attractive as possible, and as this is one of our principal approaches and is capable of considerable improvement, the plan is likely to meet with your approval. Should it be adopted, the abutters should either

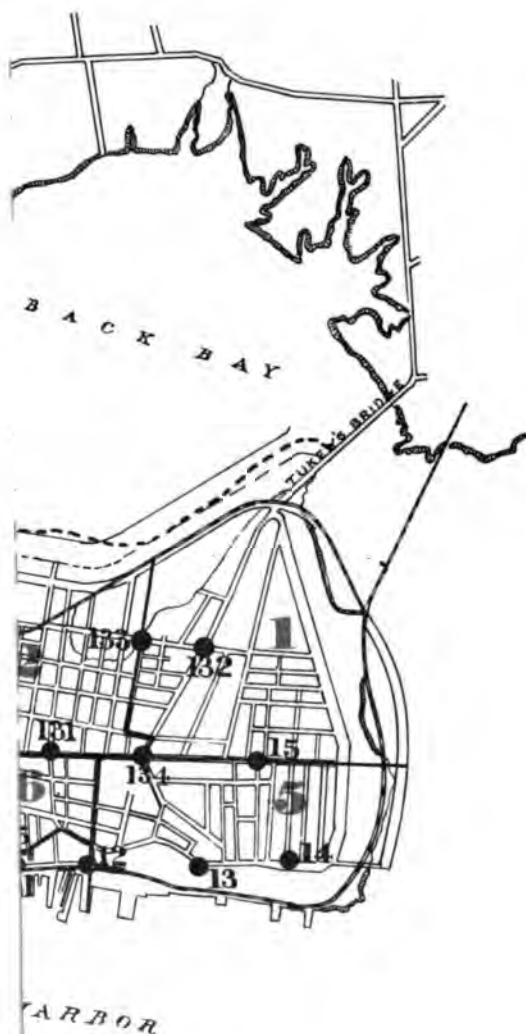
donate a strip of their land to the city, or pay a reasonable assessment for the improvement.

I now call your attention to the

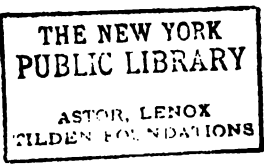
REPORT OF THE CITY MARSHAL.

The force at present consists of fifty persons, twelve of these being day and twenty-eight night patrolmen. The city is divided into twelve districts or beats, for day service, and fifteen, for night service. By the accompanying plan you will see that the total length of these beats is upwards of sixty-three miles, the shortest beat being nearly a mile and the longest over ten miles, an average for the day men of upwards of five and a quarter miles. These officers are obliged to traverse their beats and to signal the central office in the City Hall from various stations along the way, to show that they are performing their duty. They are, moreover, bound to preserve order and to see that the laws are obeyed within the extensive territory assigned to their care. This arduous duty has to be performed in summer's heat and winter's cold, in the most inclement weather, by night as well as by day. I have called your attention to these facts for a purpose, and I shall now proceed to the discussion of a question which observation has shown me can be dispassionately discussed by but few people, but which it behooves us to consider at this time; I mean the enforcement of the Prohibitory Law. Almost annually for more than a generation, and frequently not long before an annual election, the cry is raised, usually by some new-comer to our city, that the Mayor is not doing his duty in enforcing this law. The cry is eagerly taken up by the party out of office, and he and his officers are assailed with a violence born of prejudice and malice; in fact, as a recent writer graphically puts it, "the Prohibitory Law is always a club in the hands of the outs to beat out the brains of the ins."

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THE THURSTON PRINT
ENGRAVERS



The question is, gentlemen, what can be done to better matters? As you are aware, it became evident to the friends of the law years ago that the municipal authorities, through a uniformed police, as constituted by law, could not satisfactorily enforce this most difficult of laws, and special sheriffs were provided by law, whose sole duty it was to enforce it. At the same time, no provision was made to relieve the municipal officers from the duty of treating it like all other laws, although it was generally understood, that the burden of enforcement was to rest upon the special liquor deputies, where it rightfully belongs. The extreme difficulty of suppressing the liquor traffic is evidenced by this necessity of providing a special department to handle it. We have, then, this anomalous condition of affairs, a law which two independent departments are expected to execute. The coresponsibility of duty in itself is sufficient to interfere seriously with an efficient enforcement of the law. Both departments may have the same case in hand, and so conflict with one another; or in case of complaint for laxity of enforcement, one department can throw the blame upon the other; indeed, the complexity of the difficulties which can arise out of this unwise condition of affairs, is too great for present discussion. But let us look at the magnitude of the work to be accomplished. The government of the United States recognizes the legality of the liquor traffic by licensing it in our city, and every railroad and steamboat line centering here brings the prohibited article to us. It is a business of enormous profits, and those engaged in it can afford to employ the most ingenious means to prosecute it. A gentleman, who has recently assumed the dangerous role of a statistician, asserts (of course I question the correctness of his statistics), that there are over four hundred open saloons in the city, about thirty-five to each one of our twelve day policemen, and yet he seems to think that it is an easy task for these twelve men to close up these four

hundred saloons, without taking into account the fact, that they must look out and enforce all the other laws within the large area under their charge, and be at certain points on their beats, varying from one to ten miles in length, at specified times. Gentlemen, I have taken the oath to enforce all laws impartially, and I suppose that any decent man, taking such an oath, does so with the desire to observe it to the best of his ability; but from what you have seen, it must be apparent, that if the entire burden of enforcing the Prohibitory Law is to be thrown upon the Mayor, he must have officers enough to do the work. Nor will it do to give him officers appointed for life, or practically so, as the present force is, whom he cannot remove without positive evidence of wrong doing. To do the work effectually he must have officers whom he can discharge at any moment without notice.

The question for you to decide is, whether you will authorize the maintenance of a special force, wholly under the authority of the Mayor, to enforce the Prohibitory Law. If you do this, the work of enforcement should be taken out of the hands of the sheriffs, and placed wholly in the hands of the Mayor, and if he then fails to accomplish satisfactory results, there will be good reason to hold him up to public criticism. One thing I think is certain, either the sheriff or the mayor should have the sole enforcement of the law.

It may occur to you to ask how many special officers may be required to effectually stop the sale of intoxicants in Portland. I cannot answer this question, and opinions will differ upon this, as upon everything else connected with the subject, but one opinion, and that of a man well versed in the matter, is at hand. Said he, "Mr. Mayor, you can close all the rum shops *that can be found*, in twenty-four hours." I replied, "That nut is not fresh; I suppose you mean by giving a peremptory order to the Marshal. I have given

such orders to that officer couched in very definite language, and they have been read to every man upon the force, and have proved to be simply palliatives." "Oh!" he replied, "I did not mean that, place an officer at the door of every suspected shop, and keep him there." "How many officers would be required?" I asked. "Perhaps a hundred," was his answer; "but understand me, I don't say that this will stop the consumption of liquor; I don't believe that a pint less will be consumed in the city; but it will look like business." I think that this gentleman exaggerated, like so many others who pose as experts on this subject, but it is the only expert opinion that I have had, and his figures are perhaps as worthy of acceptance as those of the facile statistician whom I have quoted. A curious question, however, is suggested by this man, which this is not the place to discuss at large, and that is, whether the drink habit is not the great evil for our zealous reformers to attack after all. If that could be suppressed, would not the saloon disappear? But is it likely to be suppressed, when prominent clergymen, members of the Civic League, after hurling from the safe shelter of the sanctuary their hot anathemas at the magistrates, attend banquets at the Falmouth Hotel, knowing from previous notice that intoxicating liquors are to form a part of the menu, and while it seductively sparkles about them, warmly eulogize the generous hospitality of their hosts, and pass in silence the violation of the law, which it is to be supposed they consider paramount to all others; or when shrewd old lawyers take up the case of this same Civic League, as attorneys for the plaintiffs, and eloquently condemn the chief magistrate of the city for not preventing the commission of this "gigantic crime of crimes," and the next day, as counsel for the defendants, go into court and even more eloquently defend the rights of their clients to go to the Falmouth Hotel, and there conspire with the landlord to commit the gigantic crime of

crimes? Or again, when our best citizens, judges, lawyers, merchants, physicians and divines attend banquets where intoxicants are freely used and partake of them, is it strange, that beholding this, our less fortunate citizens, who live about Gorham's Corner and similar places, should fail to believe that the liquor traffic is the "gigantic crime of crimes," though it should be shrieked from every housetop in the city, in every minute of every calendar month of the year?

Gentlemen, some legal mind among you who has contracted the habit of objecting, may object to the relevancy of this portion of my address; but I reply, that I have a clear right to present to you the obstacles which stand in the way of a satisfactory enforcement of the Prohibitory Law, and that this is one of the obstacles, and a formidable one. I might call attention to many other obstacles, did time permit, particularly to the defects in the law itself, which skilled lawyers daily use in the interests of the law breakers. Concerning one of these a former sheriff graphically said, "When the imprisonment clause was stricken out of the law its teeth were drawn."

Doubtless I shall be sharply criticized for venturing to discuss this subject upon this occasion; but I am persuaded that it is of vital importance to the community to consider it, if for no other reason than this, that if the present condition of affairs is permitted to exist, our city will be unable to obtain men of character for this office; for any man having a regard for his reputation and peace of mind will shrink from assuming the burdens of an office sufficient in themselves, without the added penalty of suffering continual abuse for failing to execute satisfactorily to those who pose as its only friends, and the exponents of good morals in the community, a law, which, under the limitations which surround him, and with the means at his disposal, it is impossible for him to so execute. This, I say, in itself, is a

sufficient reason for me to present the subject for your consideration.

I have before called the attention of the City Council to our police system. Men are now appointed to hold office until they are sixty-five years of age, and cannot be removed without legal proof of wrong-doing. An evidence of the difficulty of obtaining such proof was shown a short time ago, when two of the force were convicted of taking bribes. No proof of this would have been possible, and the men who had been practising this crime for years would have been on the force to-day, had they not quarreled. On the other hand, the offices of the Mayor and chief officers of the police are subject to annual change, and in the graphic parlance of the men, are denominated yearlings. Such a condition of affairs is not calculated to promote that discipline in the body which is so necessary to efficiency. My recommendation would be to shorten the term of office of future appointees to, perhaps, two years for the first term. This might serve as a probationary term, and subsequent terms could be lengthened for meritorious conduct, if thought best. An officer who had rendered faithful service should, at the end of his term, be reappointed and distinguished by a mark of merit, and a man who had not proved his efficiency should be permitted to drop out. I believe also in giving the men not only merit marks, but also the chance of promotion for distinguished service, by appointing the deputy marshals from the ranks, and, perhaps, the marshal from the deputies. I think some such system would greatly increase the efficiency of the force. We have at the present time a large number of first-class men on the force, who in spite of the present system are unexceptionable officers; but the credit is due wholly to them and no part of it to the system. As you are doubtless aware, the appointment of police officers is made by the Mayor, from men who have passed the examining

hoard, and, as before remarked, when appointed, hold office until sixty-five years of age. When it is considered that a constant and powerful pressure is brought to bear upon the chief executive by friends of candidates, and by politicians who desire to pay political debts or secure political service in future, to appoint particular men, the liability to make unwise appointments is apparent, and once made no opportunity for remedy exists.

You will see by the Marshal's report that something over six thousand gallons of liquors have been seized by him during the year. The several recommendations which he makes are worthy of your careful attention. I now pass to a consideration of the

LIQUOR AGENCY,

which, in my opinion, should be abolished as soon as possible. You will see by reference to the report of sales during the two years that the agency has been under my control, that the sales have been nearly ninety thousand dollars less than in the two previous years, which, following a statistical plan at present perhaps too popular, represents over twenty drinks for every man, woman and child in the city. As the law prescribes that liquor shall only be sold from this establishment for medicinal and mechanical purposes, the inference might be that the health of the city had greatly improved, or mechanical business had greatly declined, or both; but this is not the fact, as everybody must know. The fact is, the Agency has been conducted under more stringent rules; yet I do not believe that with all the care that has been exerted; and the agency can never be conducted better than it now is, for it is under the management of the very best men; I say that I do not believe now, that the comparatively small quantity sold is all needed for medicinal and mechanical purposes. It is presumable that the sales of the agency will increase or decrease accord-

ing to the policy adopted by the political party in possession of it. This is an additional argument why this whole liquor question should be removed from the arena of politics.

I believe that a modification of the Norwegian plan of supplying the public demand for liquors would be an improvement. Instead of confining the sale to a liquor shop in which every citizen is a stockholder, and which is under the management of changing political parties, I would suggest placing the business in the hands of a syndicate or private corporation under similar restrictions to those now imposed upon the Agency ; but instead of being supervised by a committee of the political party in power, that it should be under the supervision of a commission of three men of high character, all friends of the law, if possible, and selected from the three parties, Democratic, Republican and Prohibition. This commission in addition to the duty of seeing that all liquors were properly tested for purity, should also see that they were sold only for lawful purposes, and to it should be entrusted the sole enforcement of the law through officers appointed by it and wholly under its control. The commissioners should hold office only so long as they performed their duties satisfactorily to the friends of the law, and should be appointed instead of elected to office, and removed by the appointing power. A portion of the profits of the business should go to the municipality, and in deference to sentiment, might be applied to the support of the poor whose poverty is often caused by the drink habit. A conspicuous advantage of this plan would be that the corporation having the exclusive sale of intoxicants would be prompted by self-interest to desire the strict enforcement of the law ; but perhaps the most important advantage would be that the enforcement of the law would be removed from politics. I commend these suggestions to your consideration, as your approval of any plan which would relieve the municipal authorities from the present

embarrassing situation, would have weight with our citizens and tend to bring about a desirable change.

In my last communication to the Council I called attention to the pressing need of a

NEW CITY CHARTER

and a commission was appointed to prepare one for submission to this board, consisting of Hon. Charles F. Libby, Hon. E. B. Winslow and W. G. Chapman, Esq., and we shall doubtless have a new charter formed upon modern lines. The modern city charter is in many respects quite different from the old one, and embraces many popular features. The American city should, and eventually will, furnish a model to the world. Thus far, Mr. Brice tells us, "the government of great cities is the conspicuous failure in the American republic." And yet, says De Toqueville, "municipal institutions are to liberty what the primary school is to science." We have been too much inclined to view the municipality as a miniature state, and not as a corporation, whose affairs should be administered upon business principles by men selected solely for their fitness.

In the line of reform, some of our best thinkers contend that the Mayor, who is the chief executive, should have bestowed upon him larger powers than he has hitherto possessed, and should be held directly responsible for the exercise of those powers; that he should be elected for a longer term than one year, because he is better fitted to perform his duties after acquiring a knowledge of them, and because, moreover, it adds an influence and dignity to the office, which more strongly impresses citizens with the importance of elections, which many now disregard. With respect to the bicameral system of municipal government, which until recently has prevailed in our American cities, Charles Francis Adams declares against it, and in favor of a single board like the present aldermanic board, but larger, as likely to perform

the municipal business with greater efficiency, and to attract to it men, who, under the bicameral system, are unwilling to serve. It has been recommended, in order to retain experienced men in office, that the members of such a body should be elected so that not over one-third of them would be retired in a single year. No valid argument has thus far been made against the unicameral system. The argument that the lower board is a training school for membership to the upper board, is not sustained by experience, and the other argument, that if we cannot get good government with two boards, we cannot with one, is altogether frivolous. At a recent meeting in Boston, in which the "Unwisdom of bicameral municipal legislatures" was discussed by Mayor Quincy, Hon. William D. Foulke, Samuel B. Capen, and other eminent students of this subject, it was declared, that this system is responsible for most of the bad legislation of the past. While this might be claiming too much, it is certain that a great deal of defective municipal legislation may be traced to it, and there can be but little doubt that the American city of the future will be governed by a single board, elected upon a general ticket. Says Mr. Foulke, an eminent authority upon this subject, "Popular government, as we know it to-day, is government by political parties. The men who think alike will naturally act together. The union of these constitutes a party, and yet this direct system, while it often forces men artificially into parties with the principles of which they do not agree, also prevents in many cases the normal and healthy union of those who think alike and desire to vote for the same candidate. These are now separated from each other by arbitrary district laws, ward lines, and are prevented from acting together. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company is a corporation whose road passes through many districts in several states. What would we think of a rule dividing the stockholders by geographical lines, and prohibiting those residing in

different districts from voting for the same directors, although the chief intent and purposes of all the stockholders are not sectional, but common to every part of the road?" Mr. Foulke likens the district and ward system to the old method of measuring time by the hour-glass; the copying by hand of books before printing was invented; and the regulation of the steam engine by hand before the employment of automatic valves. Not only does he point out the facility which it offers to corruption, but the loss of voting power; for under it a majority of the entire body politic might be so distributed, that it would not control a majority of the districts, whereby the wishes of the people would fail of representation. We see this exemplified in every election, where in some wards the party vote is entirely thrown away except in the election of a Mayor, when if all candidates were on a general ticket it would find expression. Of course each district or ward has its representatives under the modern plan, the only difference being that they are elected on the general party ticket.

Proportional representation has also found favor with all parties. It has been practised for some time in Switzerland, and has been found to work satisfactorily. The candidates representing the different wards are elected upon a general ticket. The total number of the ballots thrown is divided by the number of the members of the board voted for, and the quotient gives the quota of representation. Any ticket that receives that number of votes is entitled to one representative; if double the number, two; if three times the number, three, and so on. If there are remainders, and a case is not likely to occur where there are not, the ticket having the largest remainder has the vacancies. Now to explain which candidates are elected. The one having the highest number is the first, the next highest the second, and so on. Thus the individual preference of every vote cast is secured. Even a third party largely in

the minority may be represented, if it throws a total vote equal to the quota found by dividing, as before stated, the entire number of votes cast by the number of members constituting the board. A careful examination of this method cannot fail to commend it to every impartial mind.

One difficulty, and a most serious one, is to induce men of affairs to accept office. Men are not willing to sacrifice private to public interests, and many shrink from the criticism to which men in public office are unreasonably subjected. We are not subject to compulsory military service in this country, as are the people of most other countries, hence we should the more readily recognize our duty to render reasonable service in a civil capacity when called upon by our fellow citizens to do so. Should the evil of refusal continue, it is quite possible that a law will eventually be placed upon our statute books similar to one which prevails in German cities. In Berlin, for instance, failure to perform civic duties deprives a man of civil rights. He is not only disfranchised, but as an additional penalty is compelled to pay higher taxes. Such a law is finding eminent advocates in this country, and the ancient argument in its support is revived; namely, that every citizen owes to the state, which protects him in life and property, a reasonable measure of service, a principle daily recognized by everyone who is compelled to sit on a jury.

This is an age of invention; of improved methods in every department of knowledge, and our old system of municipal government, which does not meet the conditions of the day in many important particulars, is beginning to secure the attention which it deserves, and we may safely predict that at no distant day, the American city, instead of being, as so many writers claim it to be, a disgrace to our civilization, will become a model to the world, another splendid product of a Republican form of government.

JAMES P. BAXTER.

Portland, March 9, 1896.

WHAT CAUSED THE DEPORTATION
OF THE ACADIANS?

BY

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FROM PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 26, 1899.

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WHAT CAUSED THE DEPORTATION OF THE ACADIANS?

It seems safe to observe that all historical analyses require documentary evidence to satisfy the critical spirit of the present age. In such analyses, the imaginative faculty is not permitted to enjoy the scope which was once accorded it, and the writer who overlooks this incurs grave responsibilities. An author, however, is not to be held to too severe account for missing evidence. He may use due diligence in seeking it, and yet miss valuable matter to which access is difficult, or unknown to him; nay, it happens, that one's very familiarity with a subject sometimes renders him oblivious to an important detail close at hand; hence one should be chary in ascribing lapses of this sort to wilful oversight.

Again, it seems safe to observe, that in estimating the moral contents of an act of the past, we should take into account the difference between the standards then and now employed, as well as the social conditions and political exigencies of the time.

These reflections have been prompted by a late severe arraignment of certain historical workers, one of whom is no less than the late Francis Parkman of happy memory, who in treating of the Acadians, is accused not only of wilfully misrepresenting and distorting facts, but of maliciously suppressing evidence in their favor, in order to strengthen the case of his English forebears.¹ Little did the author of "Evangeline" realize, when he penned that

Vide Acadia, New York, Home Book Company; Montreal, John Lovell & Son.

admirable poem, that he was creating history ; and yet very many persons, probably a majority of our people, take their history of the Acadians from that poetic fiction, just as a considerable number of people take their theology from the "Paradise Lost." Such persons will be likely to listen approvingly to a writer who is in accord with them, and disapprovingly to one who presents the other side of the case ; and yet, there is another side.

To approximate a reasonable understanding of all that was involved in the deportation of the Acadians, we should go back to the year 1713, that memorable year in which, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia was ceded to Great Britain. The cession of Acadia was but an incident in the great struggle between principles which had been in conflict for centuries, and which had drenched battle-fields with blood. The spirit of universal dominion has always been the inspiration of the Roman Church. When the Roman Empire changed her name to the Holy Roman Empire she did not change her spirit, but as ever demanded unquestioning obedience to her power. She it was who dominated the French court, directed statesmanship and shaped diplomacy ; and she it was who kept alive the fires of war in Europe and on this continent, that she might finally bring the nations to her foot-stool. Sometimes she won, sometimes she lost, but she never dreamed of giving up the contest. Rome was eternal ; monarchs, nations even, temporary. She had lost now, but the animosities, racial, religious, and irreconcilable, survived, smouldering but ready to break forth whenever conditions should become favorable. The vanquished government sullenly withdrew to Isle Royale, and there set up its imperium, while the victor took possession of its prize, which it was not long permitted to enjoy in peace.

England had succeeded in removing to a distance the governmental machinery by which France had exercised control of the ceded territory, but not of the instrumen-

talities through which Rome exercised power therein ; and she, allied to France by a common interest,—the desire for dominion,—furnished an ever ready means to her ally to recoup herself as far as possible for her losses. There was peace between the two crowns, so far as ink and wax went, but no farther, for French emissaries at once began to foment trouble by inciting the savages to make war upon their English neighbors. These emissaries were Romish priests, whose pernicious efforts not only caused great suffering and loss of life to the pioneer settlers, English and French, but the final deportation of the Acadians, an act which has been held up to the world as one of unwarrantable and inexcusable cruelty. The criticism which this act has received, admitting it to have been cruel, is a distinct compliment to the English. Those who enjoy a reputation for righteousness are alone criticised for failing to conform strictly to righteous standards. France has almost escaped censure for acts far exceeding in cruelty the deportation of the Acadians, although she did not have the warrant of necessity to offer in defence of her action, which England did.

In 1689 the French monarch gave his sanction to a plot, which, had it not been defeated by English brawn, would have shocked the world for all time. This plot, carefully formulated at Versailles, was to make an initial attack upon Albany, and having captured that place, to proceed down the Hudson with two war ships to attack New York and force its surrender. Once in possession of New York, the rooting out of the heretic English colonists would be feasible. Their homes were to be broken up, and they scattered abroad. Those who possessed wealth were to be imprisoned until they were willing to exchange it for liberty. Artisans were to be held as captives and forced to labor for their French masters. Subjects of Rome, of course, if any were found among the heretical colonists, were to be exempt from these hard conditions, and were to

be protected and fostered. This diabolical scheme, involving the destruction of an entire people, numbering according to statistics over seventeen thousand souls, was intrusted to Frontenac for execution, and we know how ardently he entered upon his task, and how signally he failed in its accomplishment, though he inflicted suffering and death upon many English colonists. The same pitiless spirit was exhibited in the laws against those who failed to bow in unquestioning obedience to Rome, which disrupted families, and sent men and women, "without form or figure of trial," to the galleys or prisons, where they quickly succumbed to the hardships to which they were subjected.

It was for the release by the French king of one hundred and thirty-nine galley-slaves, whose only offence was that their Christianity was not Roman, that Queen Anne, shortly after the signing the Treaty of Utrecht, in return for the favor which she had solicited, granted certain privileges to the Acadians within the territory which she had acquired. The indefensible attitude of the French toward Protestants must be fully recognized in order to interpret correctly the acts of the English in their dealings with the problems which they encountered after assuming rule in Acadia.

Nicholson, the English governor, had hardly settled his military family in the new territory, when Vaudreuil, the governor of New France, wrote to the French minister at Versailles, quoting from Father de la Chasse, a Romish missionary, that "temporal interest serves as a vehicle of faith" with the savages, and that a war between them and the English "is more favorable to us than peace"; hence "temporal interest" was to be directed to this end. This was the key-note to French policy, and from that moment, as well in peace as in war, no effort was spared to render the tenure of the English precarious, not only in Acadia, but elsewhere in America, by fomenting trouble between them and the savages, and by preventing the people in the ceded territory from rendering allegiance to the English crown.

When we consider the state of feeling which existed in France toward Protestants, who were regarded as beyond the pale of mercy, and with whom it was not deemed necessary to keep faith, we cease to wonder at the methods employed by French missionaries, reared in a school of intolerance, the intensity of which we can in this age hardly realize. By a law enacted in the reign of Louis XIV., two years after the date of the Treaty of Utrecht, a person not accepting in his last illness the Roman sacrament, was regarded as a relapsed person, whose body might be dragged through the streets on a hurdle and "consigned as the refuse of the earth to the filth of the common sewer," while his property was subject to confiscation by the State. The penalty for preaching Christianity unsanctioned by Rome was death, and the children of Protestant marriages were declared illegitimate. The men who were educated under such laws, and who believed them to be divinely sanctioned, could not be expected to hesitate in the performance of any act calculated to rid the land of heretics, and they did not do so. Their correspondence, in connection with that of the French government, fully reveals the part they played during the period of forty-two years, which constitutes the history of Acadia from the date of its cession to the English in April, 1713, to the beginning of the deportation of its inhabitants in August, 1755.

To understand the subject clearly, we should first take note of the fact, that by the terms of the Treaty the Acadians were to "have liberty to remove themselves within one year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their movable effects"; but that those who remained and became British subjects, were "to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome," but subject to British law. If they did not depart within the specified time, that is, before the close of August, 1714, they forfeited their right under the Treaty to depart. Were they prevented during this period

from departing? It would appear that they took steps immediately to ascertain what aid they would receive from the French government if they removed to Isle Royale, and that they were not satisfied with the terms offered; that the nature of the soil was such as to disincline them to leave their old homes. This caused delay. Finally, however, land was offered them on Prince Edward Island, which was more acceptable, and they applied for leave to remove there, to Lieutenant-Governor Vetch, who was in command at Port Royal during the absence of Nicholson, who was soon expected to return, and Vetch referred the matter to his superior's decision. Nicholson returned some weeks before the expiration of the year, and was met by agents of the French Government, who asked, as it was then too late in the season for the Acadians to establish themselves in the new territory, to extend the time of their removal a year longer, and to permit them to construct vessels for the transportation of their effects, and to receive the outfit they would require from France. Nicholson properly referred this proposal, as it involved a question of commercial privilege, to the queen, who died before receiving it, and the matter failed to be acted upon. It would appear that Nicholson, who was governor for four years, as well as his subordinates, viewed with alarm the entire abandonment of the country by the inhabitants, and that they were not disposed to aid them at all in the project; nay, that they were inclined to throw obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, as it would leave the country bare of producers, and render still more insecure their position in the country, unsatisfactory enough at the best.

That they did not exhibit a more self-sacrificing spirit, and without regard to their own welfare did not aid the emissaries of France in their efforts to get their credulous dependents out of the country, so that no suspicion of non-compliance with the exact spirit of the treaty on the part of any British officer could possibly be entertained by a

modern critic, is doubtless to be regretted ; yet, when we consider the wily, treacherous and pitiless foes against whom the English were struggling, as well as the moral code existing at the time, we may well hesitate to judge them by the more finely adjusted standards of today.

The question of the removal of the Acadians by the terms of the treaty to French territory being practically settled, although some of them departed from time to time and joined their fellow-countrymen at Isle Royale and elsewhere, the question of their status under the English government is to be considered. To all intents and purposes, by not removing from the country within the period specified in the treaty for removal, no matter what influences prevailed to prevent them from so doing, they became the subjects of Great Britain and amenable to her laws ; indeed, everything shows that they so regarded themselves, though they refused to take the regular oath of allegiance, except with the reservation that they should not be called upon to bear arms. We may regard them, therefore, as British subjects, in the sense that they were subject to her laws and entitled to her protection, and were bound in good faith not to aid or abet her enemies.

It would seem from the testimony which we possess, that they were a peaceable people, densely ignorant and superstitious, as the *habitans* of Canada are today, though we may properly infer much more so, as the latter have for a long time been more or less in contact with educational influences. They were precisely the kind of people to make the best Roman subjects, and were so regarded by their old rulers, who were bound to use them to the extent of their power against those under whose sway they had come. Their misfortune was in listening to the emissaries sent among them by their former masters, and refusing to win the confidence of the government under which they were living, by frankly taking the oath of allegiance to it.

As before said, although France and England were at peace, efforts to render the position of the English insecure were begun very soon after the cession of Acadia to them. On July 10th, 1715, the King wrote to Ramesay and Begon, that he heard with satisfaction of the work of the missionaries among the savages, and that "as it is important to preserve them in the interests of the King, his Majesty desires that the Sieurs de Ramesay and Begon should incite these missionaries to redouble their efforts to that end, and to enquire if it may not be proper to attract them by new benefits and destroy in the English all hope of drawing them to their interests."

On December 24, 1715, the French minister wrote to Beauharnois from Versailles, "Since I have learned, Sir, of the loss that you have made of Acadia, I think continually of the means whereby this important post may be recovered before the English are firmly established there." The intrigues of the missionaries resulted in inflaming the savages with hate of the heretic English, and on September 6th following, Vaudreuil had the satisfaction of writing to the French minister, that "the Abnakis, the past year, 1715, have taken from the English more than twenty fishing vessels," and that he had promised to build them a church. He also said that one of his principal efforts had been "to maintain peace with the savages and to hinder them as much as possible from going to the English to traffic." This could only be done by making them presents every year, and he hoped "that his majesty will be willing to send this year to Canada thirty thousand livres of presents for the savages, and to continue to send every year those that it is customary to give them." He suggested that "thirty thousand weight of powder, sixty thousand of lead and six hundred hunting guns" be sent. "The latter are known to the savages who want no others but those of Tulle." They use "from twenty to twenty-five thousand weight of powder annually." In his report

to the government the 14th of the following month he remarked that "the Abnakis, Micmacs and Malecites, and others in the missions of the Jesuit fathers, Ralé and Loyard, remain on the sea coast, but they declare that upon the slightest rupture, they will be on the side of the French." The correspondence of the period reveals unceasing efforts on the part of the French to influence the savages against the English.

On October 29th, 1720, Father Charlevoix sent a memoir to the Duke of Orleans explaining the situation of affairs which had been brought about between the savages and the English. Several savage chiefs appeared before Vaudreuil and enquired if he would openly help them against the English. "I will engage," said the wily Frenchman, "the other savage nations to assist you." At these words they replied, with a mocking laugh, "Know that we and all the nations of this great continent whenever we wish will unite to drive out all strangers, whoever they may be." Vaudreuil, surprised, and realizing that they must be appeased, exclaimed dramatically, "that rather than abandon them to the mercy of the English he would march himself to their relief." Continuing, Charlevoix complacently says, "Monsieur Vaudreuil affirms that he has a trusted man among the savages of Norridgewock, who is wholly devoted to him, and by whose means, he will make the others do all that he may wish. Those who know the savages better are convinced that he should not trust to this. Monsieur Begon, on the other hand, is of the opinion that it is necessary that some rattle brain of a savage should strike the English a blow that leads to war."

The efforts of the French to arouse the enmity of the savages against them soon became known to the English. Not only was the garrison which held Port Royal, the gateway of Acadia, constantly menaced by the savages, but the settlements in New England were scourged by them. The French supplied them with guns and ammuni-

tion, and instructed them that the land was theirs, and that they should drive out the English intruders. French officers disguised as savages led them in their reprisals upon the settlers. While Vaudeuil and his associates were writing polite letters to the English authorities, they were urging their emissaries to inflame the savages against them. On March 13, 1721, letters from Vaudreuil and Begon, addressed to Ralé, the French governor's "trusted man" at Norridgewock, having been captured by the English, Governor Shute addressed the Lords of Trade as follows :

"My Lords :

"In my Letter of the 13th December last to the Rt Honble Board, I tooke the liberty to hint to your Lordships that I had good reason to Suspect that Mons'r Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada did Underhand stir up my Neighboring Indians to Maletreat His Majesty's liege Subjects.

"The Inclosed Letters will give plain Demonstration that my Suspicions were well Grounded. I have only sent your Lordships well attested Copys, not daring to send the originals, and run the risque of the Sea without direct Orders from home so to do.

"I shall take the liberty to remarke to Your Lordships, that these Letters were found in Mons'r Ralé's House, a ffrench Jesuite who constantly resides among my Neighboring Indians & is Useing his Utmost Indeavours to Engage them in a War against the English. . . . The Indians have lately killed some of our Cattle & threaten our Eastern Settlements, So that I am Under some Apprehension that a War will break out this Summer (which I will Indeavour if possible to prevent) Except some Measures be taken to oblige the ffrench Government at Canada to Act Strictly up to the Stipulations agreed to betwixt the Crowns of Great Britain & France."

The following day he addressed a forcible and manly letter to Vaudreuil, informing him of the letters in his possession, and appealing to him to desist from his treacherous and cruel proceedings. He did not do this, however, and the result was an Indian war, with all its attendant cruel-

ties ; a war for which the emissaries of France, in the livery of Rome, were wholly responsible.

While the French were thus laboring to keep alive the fires of war between the savages and their English neighbors, they were not idle in Acadia. They fully realized the advantages which they possessed in having a people occupying English territory who were bound to them by ties of blood and sympathy. Every effort was made by the priests who were sent among these "neutrals," as they were called, to hold them to the interests of France, and to prevent them from becoming anything more than nominal subjects of Great Britain.

In 1715 Lieutenant-Governor Caulfield commanded in Acadia. As the time for the departure of the inhabitants, under the treaty, had expired, steps were taken to administer the oath of allegiance to those remaining, but without success. The inhabitants of Mines and Beaubassin flatly refused to take the oath, giving as an excuse that they "had made engagement to return under the rule of the King of France." At Port Royal, however, they offered to take an oath to maintain allegiance to Great Britain while they remained in the country, provided they should be permitted to depart at any time without hindrance.

At this time Père Gaulin was acting as missionary at Port Royal. Through his hands passed the presents to the savages, and by his advice the Acadians acted. He was intensely inimical to the English, and ready to do anything to cause them discomfort. He had, before the peace, which resulted in the cession of Acadia to the English, gathered a considerable body of men against them before Annapolis Royal, to which he laid unsuccessful siege. He was a man full of resources, and unscrupulous, if we may believe the French governor of Louisbourg, who rendered him substantial aid on that occasion. Such a man was bound to prevent the people, if possible, from becoming loyal subjects to a nation against whom he was hostile to the core.

He had taught the savages "*to assert their native rights*" to the ceded territory, and he was equally ready to teach the Acadian French to refuse to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, which it was necessary that they should take, if they expected to enjoy her confidence and protection. Five years after Lieutenant-Governor Caulfield's attempt to make them take this oath, General Phillips made another attempt, and we find Père Gaulin acting on the occasion as their spokesman. His majesty, he said, was very good to interest himself in their affairs, but that the proposal meant nothing less than a violation of their oath before Governor Nicholson, and that they wished to remain faithful to their word without changing anything, because if they modified its terms, it would expose them to the resentment and vengeance of the savages. This subterfuge, for it was nothing less, was understood by the English, as appears by the minutes of the Council, September 27th, 1720—

"That the French inhabitants do persist in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, and look upon themselves as the indispensable liege subjects of France, by the engagement they have laid themselves under, and from which their Priests tell them they cannot be absolved. . . . That these inhabitants and the Indians are entirely influenced and guided by the Government of Cape Breton, and the missionary Priests residing among them."

This condition of affairs caused the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to address a memorial to the King, in which they said that the Acadians, who have remained in the province since the cession, "are entirely in the French interest, and by their communication and inter-marriages with the neighbouring Indians, have gained them to their party; whereby they are enabled upon any occasion to engage the said Indians in a war against your Majesty's subjects—that the little trade derived in this country at present is entirely in the hands of these French

inhabitants—For which reason, as well as many others, it is absolutely necessary for your Majesty's Service that these French inhabitants should be removed." This was in 1721, and is the key-note of the movement, which resulted in the deportation of this unhappy people more than thirty years later.

It is plain that this deportation was no hasty affair, and that it might have been averted at any time, had it not been for the cruel policy of the missionaries, which prevented the Acadians from taking the only step possible to avert it. One of the most active of these in the early history of the Acadians, was Père Gaulin; "that old, mischievous incendiary," as he was denominated by Lieutenant-Governor Doucett. In one of Doucett's reports to the Lords of Trade, he says that "a good deal of plunder" taken from the English in 1722, was in his chapel, "when he was there to say mass to the Indians." On another occasion, says Mascarene, he received the ransom of English soldiers captured by his savages, and it is recorded of him in memoranda of the French Council, that he was "a brave man and capable of organizing and even conducting" the savages "on an expedition." In the same document it is recommended that instead of "300 livres" which he was receiving, he "might be granted 500 livres on the Staff." In 1727, Louis XV., having received an erroneous report that Gaulin had advised the savages to make peace with the English, informed St. Ovide of the report, and ordered him to continue to "encourage hostilities." To this St. Ovide replied that "so far from M. Gaulin and the other missionaries having prevailed upon the Indians to do so, that they had, on the contrary, incurred the displeasure of the English for having incited the Indians to continue the war." Another of these missionaries was St. Poncey, who, if we may believe the report of Père Maillard to his superior, "adroitly intercepted" letters of the English Governor, which fact, he says, "has been reported to us by those

who were charged with the conveyance of these letters." Of Le Loutre, so much has already been written, that it is unnecessary to detail the career of this restless plotter of mischief, as it is of others who were engaged in the same business. A single instance of his cruelty we may be pardoned for quoting. Says Knox, who was his contemporary, "he left a most remarkable character behind him in Nova Scotia for inhumanity, insomuch that a sentinel who had been placed over him (and had formerly the misfortune, when in a regiment stationed in that country, of being his prisoner, and was miraculously preserved from being scalped alive, to which cruel fate he had been doomed by this same Priest, who marked him with a knife round the forehead and pole in order to strip off the entire scalp) and, recollecting his face, unfixed his bayonet, with an intent, as he undauntedly confessed, to put him to death, had he not been with the greatest difficulty prevented from executing what he called a just vengeance on him. The soldier's resentment was so great, and he appearing before the Commander-in-Chief so determined, that it was thought necessary to remove him to England, and exchange him into another corps."

These men continued their work incessantly during the long peace which existed between France and England from 1713 to 1744, when the two nations again came into conflict. Mascarene, who has been greatly extolled for his kind and wise government of Acadia, had been in command for a number of years, and so continued through the war, which terminated in 1748. It has been attempted to show that Mascarene always regarded the Acadians as loyal and obedient subjects of Great Britain. Such, however, was not the case. Early in his experience with them he says, "The French who, like any new conquered people, were glad to flatter themselves with the hope of recovering what they had lost, saw with a great deal of satisfaction our moat walls every day tumbling down, our hospitals filling with

sick soldiers,—and thought no doubt no less than to oblige us to relinquish the fort and to fall under their national government again. About this time they dispatch't almost unknown to us the 'priest' from Manis to Canada with an account as may be supposed of all this." Later, he says, after the garrison had sustained a loss, "The French after this changed their countenance at once, and of humble and in appearance obedient, turn'd haughty and imperious, and threaten'd no less than to take us by assault and put every one of us 'to the edge of the sword.'" And to show how he regarded the situation at the close of the war in 1748, when he retired from his office, the following extracts are made from his report :

"It has appeared very plain to all on this side, that if the French when at Lewisbourg, had carried their point and master'd this Province, the addition of strength they would have acquired in gaining four or five thousand French Inhabitants able to carry arms, join'd to the several Tribes of Indians, who to a man are all at their Devotion, and a Country able to supply them with Provisions, they would in less than a year have overrun the Governments of New England. Those from Canada have since the taking of Lewisbourg, made two or three attempts in expectation of ships and Troops from France, to carry on the same scheme in which they have been disappointed. The cessation of arms, and the Peace like to ensue will for the present put an end to their projects, but as they are to have Lewisbourg restored to them, a few years will put them in the same Posture they were at the beginning of the War, and if another occasion offers, they may renew their Projects, and by the experience they have had from their former miscarriages, they will take better measures to render them more successful. . . . From whence it appears how necessary it is to put this Province on a better Foot than it has been or is at present. One of the greatest inconveniences it labours under is in having a large number of Inhabitants, who cannot be reckon'd to be attach'd to the British Interest; and though they have been kept from joining the Enemy in Arms, it cannot be depended upon but that they may

do so at some other time. The difficulty of removing them has been represented in the Letter addressed to Governor Shirley the 7th Dec'r 1745, and which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordships, and to which I humbly refer. To counterballance the Deadweight of these French Inhabitants, a Number of British Familys might be settled on the Eastern Coast of this Peninsula."

Even the kind and benevolent Mascarene had considered the question of deportation ten years before it was begun, and when he had ended with them, had no confidence in their fidelity, although he had been able to keep them from open acts of disloyalty. He was evidently so well pleased with his success in this regard, that, whenever possible, he took occasion to report that they were submissive and peaceable. The correspondence of the period, French and English, reveals without a shadow of doubt how the French "Neutrals," so called, were regarded by both peoples, and it is idle to ignore their opinion. Vaudreuil on November 10, 1720, wrote "that the French at Port Royal were well disposed to throw off the yoke of the English," and we have seen how Mascarene regarded them.

Says Secretary Sherriff in March, 1745, "We are in Danger not only from Old France, but even from that our Neighbouring Province, if our Inhabitants are not removed."

Says Shirley May 10, 1746. "I am persuaded nothing has hinder'd the Acadians from taking up Arms against his Majesty's Garrison at Annapolis, but the Terror which the frequent Visits of the arm'd Vessels and Succours sent from this Place—struck 'em with."

Similar quotations might be almost indefinitely multiplied, but these are perhaps sufficient. The question is pressed, as though it established the status of the loyalty of the Acadians to Great Britain, why did they not join the French expeditions sent among them to expel the English? The answer is not far to seek; Shirley in fact

has answered it. They did not dare to. The French had abandoned them once to the English, and they distrusted their power to protect them, while they had a wholesome respect for English push and tenacity. Of the feeling among the conquered people against the English, Knox gives us a glimpse. He says, "Though the better sort of them generally behaved with tolerable decency, yet the poorer sort—being employed as servants and workmen—took frequent occasions (which, however, never passed unpunished) of being impertinent in displaying the fruits of the good education they had received, for, in driving a team of oxen, if an Officer or other British subject passed them on the street or road, they instantly called out to their cattle, by names of Luther, Calvin, Cronmer (meaning Cranmer) &c., and then laid most unmercifully on the poor beasts with their whips or clubs, as if they had in reality got those eminent men under their hands."

In 1748 the war between France and England, which had lasted for four years, came to a close, and a treaty was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Louisbourg and other territory captured by the English in the war were restored to France. This was a grave mistake on the part of England, and caused much irritation in New England, whose frontier settlements had grievously suffered from the savages, who had been instigated to make war upon them by French emissaries; indeed, the people of New England never forgave England for restoring to their inveterate enemy the strongly fortified city, considered almost impregnable, which had been forced to yield to the valor of their troops.

Acadia remained, as it had for thirty-six years, a province of Great Britain, but its boundaries were still sufficiently undefined to give rise to conflicting claims by both English and French. To offset the power of her rival, the seat of whose power was Louisbourg, England founded Halifax and planted there, in the summer of 1749, a colony of

about three thousand persons, well equipped in all that was necessary for the establishment of a stable government.

Governor Cornwallis, who had succeeded Mascarene, determined to exact from the Acadians the oath of allegiance which they had so long refused to take, and he immediately issued a proclamation commanding the people to appear within a given time and take the oath. This they refused to do, and declared that rather than take it they would leave the country. This reply greatly irritated Cornwallis, and he dismissed them with harsh words. From this time the secret hostility which had always existed between the English on the one hand and the Acadians and savages on the other, continued to increase, and frequently displayed itself in acts of violence. The Abbé Le Loutre, who has already been mentioned, proved to be a terrible foe to the English, and fomented trouble to the extent of his ability.

In 1752 Cornwallis was succeeded by General Hopson, who evidently exerted himself to establish peace among the discordant elements by which he was surrounded. The liberal policy of Hopson had its effect, and some of the Acadians who had left the country petitioned to be allowed to return, but stated in their petition that they could not take the oath of allegiance, alleging the old excuse that their refusal to do so was caused by fear of the savages. Just how far this excuse was really true is questionable; it certainly served its purpose for a time.

Unfortunately, perhaps, for the Acadians, Hopson's mild rule came to an end in 1753, and Lawrence, a man of a different type, succeeded to the government. Lawrence was an active, energetic man, a good soldier, and one who believed in obedience to authority. Alluding, just after his assumption of office, to the status before the courts of the Acadians, he says: "The French emissaries still continue to perplex them with difficulties about their taking

the oath of allegiance." He was determined, however, to bring the unsatisfactory relations which had so long existed between them and the government to an end. He was satisfied that the only way for England ever to hold her possessions securely was to colonize the country with her own people, and to make the French inhabitants take the oath of allegiance or displace them. He was a soldier, and fully realized the danger of sending these people to swell the ranks of the enemy. On August 1st, 1754, he wrote the Lords of Trade, setting forth the condition of affairs, and in this letter, speaking of the Acadians, declares it as his opinion, "that it would be much better, if they refuse the oath, that they were away." Can we wonder at this opinion? For more than forty years they had baffled the attempts of the English governors to make of them loyal subjects. The situation was one full of perplexities. War was likely to break out at any time between France and England, and here was a rapidly increasing population, which even if it were not an active ally of the enemy, would at least be, as Mascarene declared it to be, "a dead weight" to the government. At a council held at Halifax, July 3rd, 1755, the final test of loyalty was placed before the deputies who represented the Acadians. They were asked to show the proof of their fidelity to the government, which they had affirmed, by taking the oath of allegiance. This they declined to do. They were informed that for "Six Years past the same thing had been often proposed to them, and had been as often evaded under various frivolous pretences, that they had often been informed that some time or other it would be required of them and must be done, and that the Council did not doubt that they knew the Sentiments of the Inhabitants in general, and had fully considered and determined this point with regard to themselves before now, as they had already been indulged with six Years to form a Resolution

thereon." Their request to return home and consult their constituents further on the subject was refused, and they were told that they must now finally decide whether they would or would not take the oath. They again refused, and were allowed until the next morning to form a final resolution. On the next morning they appeared before the Council, and upon their refusal to take the oath, were informed that they were no longer British subjects, and would be treated as subjects of France. Orders were given to direct the Acadians to send new deputies in their behalf with "regard to Taking the Oath, and that none of them should for the future be admitted to Take it after having once refused to." The deputies who had already refused to take the oath here relented and offered to take it, but were refused the privilege. In spite of this, on the 25th of July the new deputies appeared before the Council at Halifax, bringing the final answer of the inhabitants, that they refused to take the oath of allegiance, though they declared their fidelity to Great Britain. This final refusal decided their fate, and Lawrence, on the 11th of August, wrote to the other governors in America, detailing what he had done and proposed to do. In this letter he states that they had unanimously refused to take the oath, and he asks "if they wou'd presume to do this when there is a large Fleet of Ships of War in the Harbour and a considerable land force in the Province, what might not we expect from them when the approaching Winter deprives us of the former, and when the troops which are only hired from New England occasionally, and for a small time, have returned home? * * * As their numbers amount to near Seven thousand Persons, the driving them off with leave to go whither they pleased, wou'd have doubtless strengthened Canada with so Considerable a Number of Inhabitants, and as they have no cleared land to give them at present, such as were able to bear Arms must have been immediately employed in annoying this and the Neighbour-

ing Colonies. To prevent such an inconvenience it was judged as necessary, and the only practicable measure to divide them among the Colonies, where they may be of some use as most of them are healthy and strong People." This was the plan that was carried out. The governors of the Colonies, however, for the most part were not pleased with this arrangement, and refused to provide for their residence among them. This, of course, caused much suffering among them, and many of them wandered about, finding no settled place of abode. Many finally found their way back to their French kinsmen.

This dispersion of the Acadians has been characterized as an act of cruelty surpassing in atrocity anything ever done by the French, not excepting the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the wholesale burnings of Protestants. This is, of course, exaggeration. That it was an act of cruelty is admitted. The question is, was it necessary? The English were in a precarious position, face to face with a treacherous enemy, French and savage, with a subject population hostile to them at heart, and liable at any time from inactive lookers-on to become active enemies. The situation described cannot be questioned. It is possible that if they had not sent away the Acadians, they might have finally completed the conquest of the country, but this we have no right to affirm. It is certain that many of the wisest and most patriotic among them regarded the removal of the Acadians and the colonization of the country left vacant by them, as a necessity. It has even been asked if it would not have been better for England and the English race if the scheme of deportation had been extended.

The Acadians have been depicted by some writers as having been a people quite above the common passions of mankind; living "an idyllic life" of simplicity, purity and freedom from guile; loving and lovable. The truth is, that we shall find their counterpart in the French

habitans of today. In Vol. 284 of Nova Scotia Documents, under the title, "Observations on the Progress of Agriculture in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with notices of Acadian manners and customs, in a project of Moses de la Dernier, Esq.," they are thus described :

"The former inhabitants, the Acadians who were settled before us on the different rivers which empty in the Bay of Fundy, had many difficulties to encounter—being ignorant of the nature and fertility of these valuable Marshes—but so soon as they acquired the knowledge of their great production of all sorts of Grain, and the facility of Obtaining Great Crops with little Labour, They gave up the cultivation of the upland to that degree as to make no use of their manure, and also chose to remove their barns and Hovels, rather than cart it away. They were so ignorant of the true principles of Husbandry that in the course of a century and a half they neither made cheese nor butter that was merchantable, and not having any knowledge of trade and commerce and no emulation or animation, but full of Bigotry and superstition, they disdained to avail themselves of Instructions which they might have had from Strangers, who settled from time to time among them—They did not labour more than half their time, the other half being chiefly taken up by their holidays."

This writer was much nearer them in point of time than we are ; but that they are fairly represented by the *habitans* of today is declared by Joseph Guillaume Barthe, membre de l'Institut Canadien, in his remarkable book, "Le Canada Reconquis par la France." "In spite," he proudly says, "of two centuries of foreign domination and unheard of efforts put forth by the new possessors to assimilate the inhabitants of the conquered country, the French of Canada always preserve the same language of their fathers, the same religion, the same customs, the same kind of life." And he asks, "What more does one

want for the resemblance?" Here we have the key to the whole matter. From the beginning they have been taught by their priests to preserve their habits and customs, their traditions and folk-lore, and, above all, their language and fealty to France and to Rome. They have had constantly kept before their eyes the picture of a new epoch, with France the holy son of Rome crowned with the laurel of victory, and dispensing to them with a lavish hand the treasures of which they have been despoiled by the heretic usurper, who lies prone under the iron heel of the imperious victor. This vision is as bright today as it was to the poor Acadians in the time of Gaulin and St. Poncey and Le Loutre. The *Ancien Régime* is to be again restored, and New France is to rule not only the domain of which England has despoiled her, but New England as well, and who knows how far beyond her bounds? This dream seems almost too wild for sane men to entertain, but it is entertained as a matter of faith; indeed, it has become a dogma and is tenaciously adhered to even by men regarded as wise.

Some time ago the papers of New Orleans gave a report of a lecture by a prominent lawyer of that city, delivered to a French association. In this lecture the bald declaration was made that the French people were to be restored to their ancient rights to this continent. The fecundity of the French people was dwelt upon, and attention was drawn to the increasing sterility of the Anglo-Saxons, which, it was stated, would in time give the French a numerical superiority. The enthusiastic speaker urged his hearers to maintain their ancient traditions, their habits and customs, and, above all, their language and religion. They were advised to keep their children out of the English schools, and to maintain schools of their own everywhere. Money, he said, was being liberally supplied by their kinsmen in France to maintain such schools, in which loyalty to French ideas must be

taught. They were admonished to maintain ever bright the fires of loyalty to France. He told them that in New England the good work of French colonization was spreading, and that in Louisiana the promise of future French domination was good. He advised his hearers not to permit their children to contract marriages with the English, but to keep themselves a separate people in every respect and to use the English language only when obliged to use it. These sentiments are only too common in Canada. At a recent meeting of the Royal Society of Canada at Montreal were several members of French extraction, but at the same time English subjects, as their ancestors for several generations had been. To the surprise of some of the American delegates, their papers were in the French language, although the audience was mostly English. The president, who was English, at the close of one of these papers, quietly but pleasantly remarked that the paper was interesting, but would have been more so if it had been in English. The rebuke was not sufficiently pointed, as many doubtless felt. Here were men who had been born and bred under the free and beneficent rule of England. To her broad and liberal institutions they owed a debt of gratitude which they could never repay, and yet they deliberately emphasized the fact that they were still French, and prided themselves in being so. We cannot understand this intense loyalty to a foreign power until we find its source in the religious teaching of these people. From the day of England's acquisition of the country they have been taught that her rule was to be temporary, and that Providence was at last to restore to France her ancient dominions. Rome, whom Cardinal Gibbons himself declares is ruled by "a bureau of administrators," and whom Victor Charbonel, in his late letter to the Pope relinquishing his clerical office, so fittingly denominates "an ecclesiastical organization, which uses religion for skillful administration, makes it a domineering power, a

means of social and intellectual oppression, a system of intolerance," has sedulously fostered this wild dream, in order to herself hold the people in subjection to her dictates. Barthe, whose book, "Canada Reconquered by France," has already been quoted, after rejoicing in the fact that the French under British rule have never changed, thus effervesces: "New Hebrews by the rivers of Babylon, they ardently aspire to return to that family from which they have been grievously separated by the exigencies of inexorable politics. Their only way of salvation in this terrible alternative, at least for the moment, is to solicit and obtain the patronage of the ancient metropolis, which, by diverting to them a part of its superfluous population, will enable them in a measure to counterbalance and live on the same footing of equality with the ever increasing English emigration, thus aiding them in repressing the American invasion. Later, Eternal Providence, who watches over the progress and liberty of all people orphaned or disinherited, and who when they have attained their majority, or the fullness of their strength, cries in their ears these all powerful words, 'arise and walk, because thou hast no more need of tutelage, and because thou also hast the right of sitting at the common feast,' later, we say, Eternal Providence will achieve for Canada complete emancipation." His closing words are equally remarkable, and we may add one more brief quotation. "Behold," he cries, "O France, our worth! Behold what we have done to remain faithful. For thee, it now is, to decide if we shall be punished for this fidelity by a complete abandonment; if we shall be disowned by thee, because Destiny has torn us from thy arms; if we shall be forgotten because misfortune has in some small degree altered our resemblance. Then wouldst thou be less generous than Joseph sold by his brethren, who recognized them in the day of his prosperity, and surely it is not we who have sold thee." Then follow certain "Pieces Justifi-

catives," or Proofs, showing what steps have been already taken to reconnect the bonds of sympathy with France. It is difficult for an American or an Englishman to believe that the author of this book is serious, yet he has been accepted by Frenchmen in Canada and France as voicing the advanced sentiments of Frenchmen on both continents; indeed, as prophetic of the future restoration to power of New France, more resplendent in glory than ever. As has been said, it is difficult for one in whose veins circulates the temperate blood of the Anglo-Saxon to take these utterances as serious; but this difficulty vanishes when we consider the character of some of the publications which are circulated among the French operatives in our New England factory towns and their kinsmen over the border.

Take but one of these publications of the better sort, *The Bethelam*, a monthly illustrated magazine, published in several languages and devoted to the interests of St. Anthony, who is its patron. In its columns are advertised certain "holy industries," some of which are the sale of rosaries, chaplets, crosier beads and "memorial lists of the poor souls in Purgatory," all of which are "enriched" with various indulgences.

The department devoted to correspondents is filled with responses from all parts of the Union, which are painful to read, as they indicate that the minds of the writers are as clouded with superstition as if they belonged to the middle ages instead of the Nineteenth Century.¹ This is only alluded to in order to refresh our memories respecting the kind of teaching which the Acadians received, and as a reminder of what their descendants a century and a half later are receiving, and it is unwise for a modern author

¹ Thus one man sends a gift because through the Saint's help he has been enabled to purchase a piece of property at a price desired, and another because he has sold his house at a good price. A woman contributes for the benefit of the Souls in Purgatory because the Saint has procured work for her husband and son, and others for various services rendered by the Saint.

to contend that the Acadians, ignorant and superstitious, and practised upon by such inventions as have been mentioned, were independent of their teachers, and followed untrammelled the dictates of their own judgments in refusing to become loyal English citizens.

When we consider the case of these poor people, of families forcibly removed from their homes, often separated, and compelled to wander in exile, suffering want, and always unwelcome guests, we may well shed tears of sympathy for them; and knowing their character, how simple and ignorant and stubborn they were, how firm their belief in the value of merit resulting from obedience to the teachings of their missionaries, we need not wonder that they went blindly on, through physical inconvenience and suffering, to attain a reward commensurate therewith; and this, it may be reasonably affirmed, and not English trickery and cruelty, as has been asserted, caused the deportation of the Acadians.

[REDACTED]

THE
WRITING OF HISTORY.

BY

JAMES P. BAXTER.



T H E

WRITING OF HISTORY.

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JAMES P. BAXTER.

**FROM PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER, 1899.**

Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.
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1900.

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THE WRITING OF HISTORY.

Not long ago this question was put to a person of literary aspirations: "What would you rather be—a famous poet, historian, or novelist?" "You have," he replied, "exactly indicated my ambition by the order in which you have put your question. I consider poetry the highest form of literary art, or indeed of all art; hence, I would rather be a great poet; but next to a great poet, I would be a great historian." "I think," said his questioner, "that the popular opinion is that anybody who can gather facts can write history." "Oh yes," was the reply, "and the popular opinion may also be, that anyone who can rhyme can write poetry. I am inclined to believe, though, that the field of history to-day presents more attractions to literary ambition than any other." This recalls to mind a remark made a few years ago by a friend having an intimate acquaintance with historic documents in European archives, to the effect that the history of the American Revolution has yet to be written. Further conversation with him on the subject led me to make application through our American Minister in London, for the privilege of examining the documents relating to that period in the office of the Public Records, to which public access is not allowed. Upon receiving permission to do so, I spent a considerable time, in the presence of an attendant, in the examination of these documents, and so much was I impressed, after my study of them, by the truth of my friend's remark, that shortly after, I suggested to the late Mr. Blaine, who I believed was intending to abandon the political field and devote himself to literary pursuits, that here was a work

worthy of his devotion, and I am inclined to think that if his health had permitted, he might have given the subject serious attention.

That the field of history has been but imperfectly cultivated and still affords excellent opportunities to literary workers, I have no doubt all who are acquainted with the subject will admit; but the writing of history requires special talent, and talent of as high an order as any other department of literature. The importance of good history in the education of a people cannot be over-estimated, yet we know how the study of history is neglected. This may be due in a measure to the quality of the history which has been placed in our educational institutions. Some of us may remember how we detested the drill in history to which we were subjected in our youth, and how long it took us to be able to regard with equanimity anything of an historic nature. To be compelled for half-an-hour daily to answer questions, rarely related to each other, was, to say the least, tiresome. Such questions, for instance, as, "When was John Carver chosen Governor of Plymouth Colony?" "What was the name of the Indian slain by Captain Miles Standish?" "To what tribe did Philip belong?" "When was the cruel savage Paugus killed and by whom?" Such questions were confidently answered, as well as some others, which are now warmly debated. I am not prepared to say that even history so taught was not productive of some good, but its value, I am sure, might have been increased an hundred fold by a more judicious method; and here let us consider briefly one method, if no more, which is to begin with the history of the student's own town. Certainly he should know something of this, if of no other history, and it is quite possible to make the local history interesting, as may be made to appear farther on, when the town history is considered. Having familiarized himself with the history of his own town, it would seem that the next practical step

would be to learn something of his county and state. In this study the student will get a knowledge of the aboriginal inhabitants and colonization of his state; its organization and development socially, commercially and politically, and the relations which bind its parts together into a commonwealth, which must be of immense importance to him. By the time he has acquired a knowledge of the history of his town and state, it is quite likely that he will have formed a taste for historical study, and will be quite ready to take up the study of the United States in its divisions and entirety. The student will by this time have perceived the intimate relations existing between the history of his own country and the countries of Europe; first, of course, England, whose history he will now find a fascinating study, instead of the dry array of events which, had he taken up the study of English history earlier, would have appeared to him to have no relation to the history of his own country. Having acquired a knowledge of English history, more or less thorough, he must perforce take up the history of France, which will present to him a more brilliant field than that of the cloth of gold, glorious "with plume, tiara and all rich array," and which is so intimately related to that of England and his own country, as to make it a part of a continuous narrative, whose splendid theme is the development of civilization. Of course the student will not stop here, but will continue to enlarge his field of vision, until it embraces the world. This method of studying history certainly possesses this merit, that the student, at whatever point he relinquishes his study, will have acquired a practical knowledge of that portion of history most useful to him, which can hardly be affirmed of any other method.

Perhaps it may not be too much to affirm that the history of itself which a people puts forth, affords an approximate measure of its civilization, so intimately is it correlated with the popular intelligence. I hope that this may not

be deemed severe later on, when I come to speak of the town history. While criticising, however, the lack of method and the carelessness of many historians, we should recognize the difficulties which lie in his path. At the recent opening of the new building of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the president, and our associate, while making severe strictures upon some former methods of writing history, spoke of the many sources of knowledge which have been opened to the historian, and noted how difficult it had become for him to avoid prolixity on the one hand, or undue concision on the other.

Everyone who has seriously and conscientiously made it a business to gather historical material relating to a particular subject, realizes the magnitude of this difficulty, and how agreeable it would be to have some guide for its solution; yet, at present, no such guide exists. Histories, imposingly voluminous, are written, which give one but the vaguest idea of important events, and too often no idea at all. This grows out of the attempt to cover too wide a field, and the necessity of condensation, and leads us to the belief that the future historian is to devote himself more and more to the writing of monographs. If this belief is correct, a most attractive view is opened to the historical writer, who can concentrate his attention upon a part of the field particularly interesting to himself, in which he can freely exercise his powers in the discovery of new facts and in tracing obscure relations between events, which enforced attention to a wider field would not permit him to undertake.

Perhaps it may be urged that, as history is the orderly expression of great forces whose continuity of action give it unity, it will by this method of procedure become fragmentary and probably chaotic; but reflection will show that this need not be so, for these so-called fragments will naturally come together and fall into their proper places in orderly sequence. Without doubt, when the ground shall

have been sufficiently covered by monographists, general histories of an encyclopedic character will be compiled, with analytical indices, referring the student to existing monographs, and briefly summarizing them, thereby serving as convenient reference books for those who do not desire to pursue the study of history more deeply. Of course general histories will be written, and if time permitted it would be interesting to consider what such histories are likely to be. Will they be philosophic in their character, following and laying bare the forces which operate in the evolution of civilization, and which result in epochs of startling significance? Very likely, and such study will present a field worthy of the powers of a Gibbon, a Hume, a Ranke, a Montesquieu or a Buckle.

A well-known thinker, some time ago, in an address to a learned society, remarked that the writing of history was once a pleasant recreation, but had now become an exacting task. He depicted the man with a lively imagination, who upon a few facts, or even half facts, would rear such structures as his genius might devise, structures artistically attractive, but quite as unreal as modern historical fiction; though it should be observed that our modern romancists are becoming more and more careful to conform to historic truth.

Since the admirable work of the Johns Hopkins University has come under public observation, this method of writing history has fallen into disrepute, and people are demanding more of the historian than formerly. The author who takes his material at second hand and pads it with rhetoric, however artistic his work, will find a poor market for his wares. The public will no more be satisfied with such pabulum than the hungry man who comes too late for the roast will be satisfied with the sweets. Substantial facts, following each other in orderly sequence and sparingly garnished, alone satisfy the present taste. Substantiality and simplicity are made the order of the day.

It has been suggested that the study of history should begin with the Town History ; yet it is a common remark that the most unsatisfactory historical writing of the present day is to be found in our town histories. Everyone acquainted with the subject must be painfully aware that many of these works are constructed upon as haphazard a plan as our grandmothers' porridge, "a bunch of herbs, such things as are handy, and salt to the taste." An author of a New England town history who begins with a sketch of the mythical visit of the Scandinavians to our shores, continuing with a *résumé* of the voyages of Gosnold and others hither, and finally gliding without apparent effort into the genealogies of John Fitzpatrick, Peter Jones, and other distinguished residents of the town, may be justly open to the suspicion that he has failed to give a due amount of attention to method.

Such a history, however, is not without value, as it of necessity records some facts which might otherwise be lost ; indeed, it sometimes becomes of considerable pecuniary value, especially when a convenient fire reduces the edition, thereby enabling the enterprising bookseller to place it on his scarce list, so seductive to a certain class of collectors.

The writing of a Town History is not an undertaking to be entered upon lightly. It is indeed a serious matter and requires the most painstaking research, as well as keen powers of analysis, and considerable facility of expression. If the student is to begin his historical study with local history, it should certainly be made as attractive to him as possible. A collection of unconnected events scattered through a prosaic narrative will give him a distaste for history from which he may never recover. It therefore behooves us to demand the very best work in the Town History, if we would place history where it belongs, in the front rank of educational agencies.

Doubtless the selectman considers it praiseworthy in him to help nominate the worthy pastor, the pushing young

schoolmaster or the life insurance agent, for the latter is popularly believed to possess abundant genealogical ability, to construct a history of his town, and it is, moreover, a laudable ambition for such nominees to place their names upon the title pages of such books, and far be it from me to discourage them. My plea is for a method which will render the Town History more useful. Is it possible to outline a method which may be applied generally to the writing of Town Histories? In considering this question a few things seem evident. It would seem, for instance, that in writing such a history the first object of the author should be to place before his reader all the knowledge concerning the town under treatment, which is available; in fact, to anticipate, as far as possible, every question which he thinks anyone may be able to ask about it.

If this assumption is true, it might be well for him to start with a description of its natural features; its geology; its *flora* and *fauna*, and, if practicable, of its aboriginal inhabitants. All these are subjects of importance, which the citizen desires to know something about, and upon which it is the manifest duty of the historian to enlighten him. Apparently this should be followed by an account of the reasons that led its early settlers to select it for residence; of their characteristics, and proceedings in organizing, naming and shaping it into a communal abode.

Every town has an interesting history respecting its beginning, and often of its naming. Here is a town whose pioneer settlers, few in number, owing to religious differences of opinion, which embittered their neighbors against them, pushed their way into the wilderness, far beyond the limits of civilization, and after many hardships found a promising place for settlement. Here they felled the forest, reared their rude cabins, and planted. They were not permitted to pursue their labor in peace. The savages prowled about them in the shadows of the forest, and they had to keep ever at hand a weapon of defence against their

wild fury ; yet so pleasant were the relations of these isolated families, and those who soon joined them, that they called their town Harmony. Great bowlders were strewn about their cabins, and the ledges were ploughed with deep furrows. Near by was a strange mound, probably of aboriginal origin, and rude implements of stone were turned up by the ploughshare. These and many other things connected with the locality furnish subjects of interesting research. Finally the time arrives when the citizens of the town desire a history, and how ought they to regard the man who undertakes to supply this want by beginning his book with a few unmeaning records, which he has found by chance, continuing with an account of a militia company, gossip respecting troubles in the first church, anecdotes of the village tavern, and a mass of genealogies as they have been picked up at haphazard? The question is a grave one, and worthy the cogitation of the selectmen of many aggrieved towns.

But to continue the outline of a method for writing a Town History. Having given an account of the beginnings of a town, the author's task should not be one of much difficulty. He should have at hand all the records and documentary material relating to the subject attainable. The gathering, arranging and indexing of such material should have occupied him for a long time, and he should from this, and such other material as he possesses, prepare a brief chronological skeleton of his subject for constant reference. He can now go forward, giving an account of the development of the town year by year ; of its educational, religious, political and business affairs ; and the part which it has played in the state and nation. If a genealogy of the town is needed, let that form a separate volume, and bear its proper title. This outline of a method for writing a Town History, as I am aware, is quite incomplete. I have only intended it to be a suggestion, and if it serves this purpose it is sufficient.

I wish also to occupy a moment in speaking of some Indian words. It will be remembered that at a recent meeting of this Society, our honored associate, Dr. Hale, gave us an interesting talk upon this subject. At present, great confusion exists with regard to the pronunciation, orthography, and especially the etymology of Indian words. So far as I have been able to discover, the Indian himself is unable to give reliable testimony regarding the etymology of his language. I have questioned him searchingly and seen him shift his ground, after I thought I had settled a point, leaving me as perplexed as before. I recently spent some time with an intelligent Indian in camp and canoe, and availed myself of the opportunity I enjoyed to question him upon points regarding which I was in doubt; one, in relation to accent. In words of three syllables, the accent is almost invariably upon the penult, and of two syllables on the ultima. Thus a fish is *Nemás*; the good spirit, *Glooscáp* (*glooscárp*); the bad spirit, *älóxeuse* (*arlóxuse*); a man, *Sanápè*, (*sanárpay*); an exception is *Ságem* (*sárgem*), a chief, and *Ságemä* (*sárgemar*), the chief. Using the word *Abnáki* I was rather sharply corrected. "No," exclaimed the Indian, "it is *Wábauäki* (*wárbauarky*). As the word came to us through the French, it is easily seen how we lost the sound of the *w*. One of the old names of Portland Neck was pronounced in the usual way *Mächigon*. "Very bad," said the Indian, "it is *Machágon*." *Piscátaqua* was also changed into *Pascátáquä* (*pascatáwquar*). It requires patience to elicit information from an Indian respecting the etymology of a word. "What," I asked, "is the meaning of *Wickhagon*?" The reply was, "a book." "But," I said, "the Indians had no books. What is this bit of written paper?" "*Wickhagon*"; "and this bit of bark with characters upon it?" "*Wickhagon too*," was the answer. "But what are you thinking of," I asked, "when you say *wickhagon*?" "Something that tells," was the

reply. This is probably near the etymology of the word; but one can never be sure of exactness. Behind what may be termed the apparent or sensuous etymology of a word is a subtler meaning which baffles every effort to grasp it. The Indian readily coins words for our modern inventions. Thus the telephone is "*archimontic-oonäquábish*," a term complex in structure as well as meaning.

Words adopted from European languages by the Indian are often claimed as his own. Many curious instances of this kind might be adduced if time allowed. Haliburton tells us that "*loken*," or "*poke-loken*," as the word is more commonly used by the Indian guide, is an Indian word. The Indian speaking of a region abounding in marshy creeks and ponds says that it is full of *Bogans* and *poke-lokens*. There is no doubt that *bogan* is a good Gaelic word and means a bog, and *poke* is easily enough a pouch, while *loken* is good Anglo-Saxon for an enclosure. The same may be said of *hagus*, a thicket, claimed by Indian guides as a word of their own, the origin of which is beyond question. In closing this subject, I would remark that a full vocabulary of place-names, with their etymology, would be of great importance to the historical student.

Errata.—Page 11, for *Wábauäki* read *Wábanäki*.

“ 12, for *archimontic* read *archimoutic*.





KING ALFRED THE GREAT

AN ADDRESS BY

HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER

READ BEFORE THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NOVEMBER 1, 1901

KING ALFRED MEMORIAL

OPENING ADDRESS

BY HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY

It has been the practice from the earliest times for civilized peoples to publicly commemorate important episodes in the lives of those who have made themselves conspicuous by great achievements, not alone for the purpose of showing reverence for the mighty dead, but for the loftier one of keeping bright the memory of virtues worthy to be emulated by the living.

It is in accordance with this practice that we have assembled to celebrate the nativity of a man so grand, that the memory of what he wrought for a great race from whose loins we sprang, has survived the mirk and moil of a thousand years. A thousand years! How fared the world in that remote day when Alfred, the anniversary of whose death we commemorate, opened his eyes upon it? Surely it was not the world upon which we look to-day. Then, the activities of men were universally devoted to war, and an able warrior stood for the highest type of manhood. Race strove with race and tribe with tribe marring the face of nature with carnage and desolation. To wrest their dearest possessions from alien peoples and devote them to servitude and sorrow, was a meritorious

achievement worthy the meed of poetic eulogy, and the precious crown of heroic virtue. At the time of Alfred's birth, the little island of England was divided into petty principalities governed by rulers, who were jealous of each other, and who acted together against the common enemy, the Danes, only as their selfish interests dictated. These fierce sea rovers made annual incursions into the country, first despoiling the sea coast towns and then ascending the water ways into the interior, ravaging and slaying as they went. There was no part of England which was not kept in continual alarm by these raids of a cruel and implacable enemy, whose sudden appearance in unexpected places, prevented the people from making common cause against them, as they dared not leave their own settlements unprotected. Emboldened by success, these marauders swarmed together and established themselves permanently on the soil, which enabled them more successfully to prosecute their designs. Continual warfare and slaughter was the result, and for a long time it seemed that the English people were doomed to destruction. In this condition of affairs the childhood and youth of Alfred were passed. Brave, prudent and sincere, he was the favorite of all.

Says Asser, his friend and biographer, "Beloved was he by both father and mother alike with a great affection beyond all his brothers ; yea, the very darling of all. It was in the king's court that he was brought up. As he grew both in childhood and boyhood, so showed he ever fairer than his brethren, and, in looks

and words and ways, the lovesomest. Above all, from his very cradle and through all the distractions of this present life, his own noble temper and his high birth absorbed in him a longing after wisdom."

When his father and three brothers had died after enjoying brief reigns, the last having been slain in battle, the advent of Alfred to the throne revived in the hearts of the English people a hope of deliverance from their pitiless oppressors. Though often reduced to almost hopeless conditions, his confidence in achieving success never waned, and overcoming all obstacles he finally conquered the Danes, established order and placed England in a position of security not hitherto enjoyed. This alone would have entitled him to the term great, but it satisfied only a part of the worthy ambition which he cherished. Long continued warfare had seriously interfered with the proper administration of law, and education, and literature. As soon as peace was won the great warrior became a law-giver, and reconstructed the legal code of his realm, at the same time devoting himself to education and literature. As a man of letters Jusserand calls him, "The chief promoter of the art of prose," and another French writer, Guizot, says that "He opened to the Anglo-Saxon tongue itself a new era by impenetrating it with strong thoughts and precise notions, which it was not yet accustomed to bear. Therein is the original work of Alfred, the seal of his genius." Well has Alfred been called a Miltiades for military genius, a Themistocles for statesmanship, and a Pericles for humanity and wisdom.

We to-day honor Alfred not because he was a king, or a successful ruler of a great people, but as a wise and noble man, worthy of universal honor in any age ; in fact, a man whom every American, however high his ideal, may imitate with profit.

ADDRESS AT FRYEBURG JUNE 17, 1904

BY JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER

Could we have stood here one hundred and seventy-nine years ago, how different would have been the scene before us. Instead of this quiet village of pleasant homes, these cultivated fields and outlying farmsteads, the thrift and industry of a Christian community, we should have beheld a cluster of frail wigwams, a few patches of land under the rude cultivation of a savage people, and great forests whose bounds had never been explored by man. Through them not only prowled the supple savage, whose moccasined feet made no sound, but wild beasts innumerable, of which no trace now remains.

The whole world then was unlike our world of to-day. The steam engine had not been thought of, and transportation was mostly on foot or by boat. But few public roads existed even in New England and almost none in Maine.

Superstitious beliefs dominated the thought of the time. One who dared to doubt even the existence of witches was dangerously near being a pestilent skeptic, who a few years earlier would have expiated his fault on the gibbet. How would such people have regarded the telephone, the telegraph, and, especially, the phonograph, with its ghostly voices, which even after one becomes familiar with them seem uncanny. Men were then contented with modes of life which we should regard now as indicative of extreme destitution. Although having an established government and living under the protection of its laws, their lives and property were never safe, owing to savage enemies who suddenly appeared and vanished like some awful specter who revelled in terror and death.

It had become a fixed belief with the white colonists at the time of which I speak, that if they would rear their families in safety these "Wolves with men's brains," as the pious Mather styled them, must be exterminated. The government was too

poor to keep regular armies in the field to punish its elusive enemies, and so it enacted a law to pay men according to their efficiency in exterminating them, and a few, who were applauded by their contemporaries as the truest of patriots, accepted the terms, and went forth to the conflict. We may well imagine the gathering of these few brave men under Lovewell, and their departure from Dunstable in the early spring, when the fields were just beginning to show their tender verdure, and their neighbors were busy preparing their lands for planting, and how their hearts were stirred by the sad farewells of their relatives and the enthusiastic plaudits of their friends, who watched them with straining eyes as they wound away over the hill until they disappeared from view. We can follow them upon the tedious march on which some fell sick by the wayside and could go no farther; the encampment at Ossipee and the anxious council of war of the constantly weakening company, now in the enemies' country; can hear the ring of their axes as the trees fall and the little fort goes up, which is to afford them shelter in case of disaster and retreat; can follow their cautious approach to the stronghold of the terrible Paugus and his savage band, and witness the deadly struggle, which, at one time, seemed to have been decided against them; followed by the offer of quarter by the treacherous foe, which meant only death by prolonged torture; the fresh onset; the retreat and the final victory, which measured by the loss of brave men might well be called defeat. It requires no vivid imagination to picture these scenes, so graphically described in the simple account of the ancient chronicler. They are too picturesque indeed to fail to arouse the imagination of the dullest reader. I know that critics have condemned such attacks as this of Lovewell upon the savages; but I think that they fail to take everything into their account. To me it seems that it had become a question of killing a few score savages, or a much greater destruction of life, as well as of property. I am satisfied, too, that several of the actors in this stirring drama have not been awarded that meed of praise to which their heroic actions entitled them. Something akin to the heroism of the men of the Intrepid; Somers, Wadsworth and Israel, in the Tunisian War; of Cushing in the Civil War; of Hobson in the late Spanish War; and of the Japanese Hirose, inspired these men, who went into the wilderness to

meet the most dangerous of foes, knowing that they must be so entirely cut off from help in case of defeat, or even sickness, that death would be almost certain. And, then, consider individual cases; that, for instance, of Robbins, who, finding himself so severely wounded that he could not retreat, asked to have his gun charged, that when the savages came to scalp him he might kill one more of them; of Fry, a young man of "Liberal education" as the chronicler describes him, who, when mortally wounded, prayed for the success of his comrades; of Farwell, Davis, Jones and Lovewell himself, who not only showed heroic fortitude but unselfish devotion to the cause they had espoused. Let the heroes of Pequaket hereafter receive the meed due them, for their story forms a notable page in our history. I have often roamed over this historic ground and conned the story of Lovewell's Fight, and repeopled the scenes of the past, while the varied sounds of the distant village have been blown to my ears, and like many others have tried to put my thoughts into rhyme.

May I close these brief remarks with such a rhyme, fashioned at the foot of Jockey Cap, which, after it has served my present purpose, may go the way of much poor poetry on the subject:

Hark ! hark ! heard you not where the pines cluster thickly,
 A noise like the movement of moccasined feet ?
 As if through the shadows stole softly and quickly,
 One ever expecting some foeman to meet ?

'Tis only the wind as it stirs the gray birches,
 Or wing of a bird as it flits through the wood ;
 High up where the hawk in security perches,
 A sentinel guarding the home of its brood.

But, surely, you heard, where like ghosts softly trailing
 Their robes, stalk the mists on the pond's hither shore ;
 A cry like a war whoop, 'twixt laughter and wailing,
 Which a thrill to the heart like a swift arrow bore.

'Tis only a bird to his mate strangely calling
 From out the gray mists where he floats all alone ;
 While eve's gentle spell on the landscape is falling,
 Whose beauty the day called with joy, all its own.

.

Never more shall the gay beaded moccasin lightly
 Imprint the scant turf beneath the dark pines ;

Nor the war whoop be heard where so strangely and whitely,
The moon like a face on the calm water shines.

Where the Indian maiden met shyly her lover,
Her tryst the fair Saxon keeps faithfully now ;
With the same yearning stars throbbing softly above her,
And the same moon discreetly to list to her vow.

Where the wigwam once stood on the bloom sprinkled meadows,
Above the broad elms the white church spire beams ;
And the voice of its bell calling out from the shadows,
Like the voice of an angel lures sweetly to dreams.

The Park System of Portland



1905

The Park System of Portland

By JAMES P. BAXTER

Mayor of the City

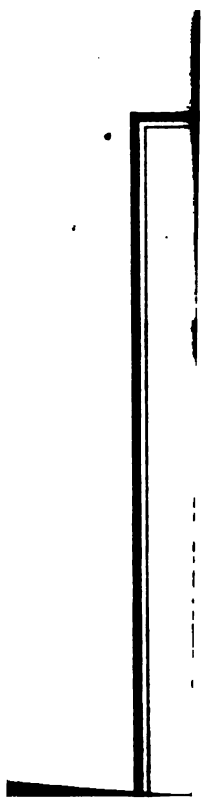
PORTLAND, MAINE, 1905

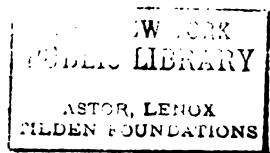
Dedication.

**TO MY FELLOW CITIZENS
WHO HAVE FAITH IN PORTLAND
AND DESIRE TO AID
IN THE PROMOTION OF ALL
MEASURES CALCULATED
TO MAKE IT AN IMPORTANT
RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL CITY,
WITH MY WARMEST REGARDS.**



WESTERN PROMENADE.





THE PARK SYSTEM OF PORTLAND

WHAT IT CAN BE MADE

By JAMES P. BAXTER



CITY is not made in a day. Like everything of worth it grows by slow accretions. The adventurer seeking a dwelling place finally erects his log cabin on some spot which strikes his fancy, and other adventurers like him recognizing the advantages of the situation he has chosen, or, perhaps, the benefits to be derived from association, pause from time to time in their search for places of habitation, and raise their rude roof trees near by; thus, in process of time, appears a hamlet where once was wood or waste.

But the pioneer settler having chosen wisely in selecting for a dwelling place the shore of some navigable river, or convenient harbor, the hamlet expands; trade springs up; ships come and go, facilitating business with other settlements; rude streets are marked out; the frame dwelling takes the place of the cabin; church and schoolhouse are reared, and the hamlet becomes a town.

But thus far in the struggle for existence and expansion necessities alone are sufficient to engross attention, and as the town grows, new necessities continue to arise. To facilitate traffic and intercourse, subserve the health, and promote the convenience of the inhabitants, streets must be graded and paved; sidewalks laid; sewers constructed; water and light provided, and problems of transportation solved. When all these things have been accomplished the town has become a city.

The evolution of the city from the hamlet, if we take the New England city for an example, has been slow and

laborious, and though brick and stone have to a considerable extent taken the place of wood, and though the bank, the church, the court house and other public buildings display some attempt at architectural beauty, the city is but a city in name, and occupies a relation to the maturer cities of the world similar to that of the green country lad to the accomplished man of the world.

It must now enter upon its finishing period if it would become the City Beautiful, to which all cities aspire. It must not only have its well kept streets and all other necessary belongings of a city, but beautiful mansions with well kept grounds; public buildings of architectural importance; art galleries; statues; fountains; public squares and gardens; parkways; playgrounds and parks. We have seen that in the development of the city, streets and sewers occupy the chief place of importance, and so they must continue to do, though, as more affluent conditions are attained, a proper proportion of the public revenues must be devoted to uses which appeal to the higher nature.

Though I name last parkways, playgrounds and parks, which, with public statues may be said to indicate the advanced degree in civilization attained by a community, I do not consider them really least, and shall make them my theme.

It is a hundred and thirty years since Portland was destroyed by Mowat, and for nearly a century after the beginning of its rebuilding it had not a single public park. It is true that a committee was appointed, August 17th, 1836, to lay out "Fort Burrows on Mount Joy for a public mall," but until within forty years Portland possessed no park, nor do any systematic efforts appear to have been made towards securing one, but immediately after the great fire of 1866, a portion of the territory which was burnt over was purchased and

LINCOLN PARK

laid out, one of the wisest achievements, when the conditions then prevailing are considered, of any municipal



LINCOLN PARK.



AS IT MAY BE ON THE BOULEVARD.

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administration since Portland became a city, and which may properly be termed the initial step in the development of our present park system, yet it was bitterly opposed even by some influential citizens, who denounced it as wicked extravagance. Its undertaking has always been to me a subject of surprise and admiration, and it is doubtful if it could have been successfully accomplished, but for the rude shock occasioned by the great calamity mentioned, which broke through the conservatism, which a long period of undisturbed tranquility and business routine is apt to create in a community, and aroused our people from their apathy, giving them broader views and a more generous appreciation of civil obligations. It was not until September 25th, 1879, that the city, by liberal concessions of the Deering heirs, acquired a portion of the park known as Deering's Oaks ; that is, the land extending from Deering avenue to the tannery property, and to a point on Portland street one hundred and forty feet easterly of the main entrance to the park. On February 3rd, 1890, upon a petition of J. S. Winslow and others, the first step was taken towards the acquisition of the site of Fort Allen, and it was finally purchased. From this small plot of land to Tukey's bridge nearly the entire Eastern Promenade belonged to private owners, and was liable to be occupied at any time by buildings.

When I entered upon my duties as Mayor in the Spring of 1893, a good deal of excellent work had been accomplished by the Park Commissioners. The Western Promenade had been improved ; Lincoln Park was in its present finished condition, and Deering's Oaks especially testified to the good taste and labor, which had been bestowed upon this, our most interesting park.

Having seen the principal parks in this country and Europe, and realizing their great public importance, as well as the paucity of our own achievements in this regard, I resolved to do all in my power towards the creation of a park system for Portland. With this end in view the surroundings of the lands already owned by the city, the possibilities of enlargement, and methods of connec-

tion were studied. It was necessary, also, to promote as much as possible the improvement of what we already possessed. In furtherance of this, the Fort Allen lot, then unsightly with ash heaps, had to be taken in hand, and in this work the Park Commissioners* enthusiastically joined, and with a very moderate appropriation they graded the land, laid out an attractive driveway bordered with shrubbery, erected a large pavilion, placed an iron fence along the bluff for the protection of visitors to the locality, and, in a remarkably short space of time, transformed a piece of rough ground into the beautiful park which it now is, a delight to our citizens and thousands of visitors to our city, who gather there to admire our harbor and the sea view dotted with islands beyond; a view which our late greatly lamented and beloved townsman, Woodbury S. Dana, said he had heard European friends pronounce the most beautiful they had ever gazed upon.

THE WESTERN PROMENADE,

as I have said, had been improved with walks and some shrubbery planted, but the southwesterly slope of the hill was not owned by the city, though it is probable that ninety-nine out of a hundred of our citizens supposed it to be. Already at the foot of the northwesterly slope of the hill a number of dwellings had been erected, and in a short time the rest of the land, less desirable for dwellings, was likely to be covered with cheap structures. After months of work, finding it impossible to get a vote to purchase this property, I fortunately succeeded in making an exchange of a lot of land with the Brown Estate for it, and this territory, consisting of nine acres, will forever be kept open to public use, and when laid out and adorned will form an important addition to our park system.

DEERING'S OAKS,

I have remarked, ended on the Portland street side near the present entrance. My ambition was to procure all of

*The Park Commissioners at this time consisted of J. P. Jordan, A. W. Smith and E. G. Raymond.



FORT ALLEN PARK.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

the land easterly to Forest avenue, including the tannery property, but this was too large an undertaking for Portland in one or even two years ; however, there had to be a beginning. The first lot east of the park entrance, consisting of about three acres, belonged to the Larrabee heirs; the next adjoining, with two small houses upon it, to Henry Deering, Esq., and the next, also occupied with cheap buildings, to the Preble heirs, both comprising something over one acre. After months of persistent labor the consent of the City Council was obtained to condemn the Larrabee property for park purposes, but before proceedings to that end were begun, negotiations were entered into, which resulted in the purchase of the property at a price, I believe, far below its value for building purposes, payable in fifteen annual installments. Negotiations were then begun for the purchase of the Deering and Preble properties adjoining, which resulted in a very favorable offer to the city by both owners. After considerable opposition and delay, an order to purchase the Preble property finally passed the City Council, but that to purchase the Deering property, lying between that and the land already purchased of the Larrabee heirs, strangely failed of a passage, nor could I afterwards get it considered, why I know not, for if either order was to be rejected it was the one which was passed and not the other. This action left a lot in the park, upon which, as has been remarked, were several old buildings, like an unseemly patch upon a fair garment, and so it remained for seven years. Having, however, experienced in the first instance generous treatment from Mr. Deering, I ventured again to approach him on this subject shortly after entering the Mayor's office last year, and was much pleased to have him renew his former offer to the city, which I at once succeeded in getting accepted by the City Council. Had this lot been owned by a speculator it would have been held for a much larger price, and the city in the end would have paid it. By the acquisition of this lot, our principal park has been extended to the foot of High street, or within one hundred and thirty-five feet

of Forest avenue. Eventually the tannery property will be added to it and possibly the property between it and Forest avenue.

While securing the future of the public grounds mentioned, the

EASTERN PROMENADE

had not been overlooked. Nearly the entire territory was private property, though but few of our citizens seemed to realize this, for, when it was alluded to, the common remark was, "I always supposed the Eastern Promenade belonged to the city." A plan was made of the entire eastern slope of Munjoy hill showing the various proprietorships, and every one of the owners interviewed. Some of these owners were proof against every argument, even the appeal to civic obligation, often more potent than anything else, but after months of persistent effort, a number of them agreed upon terms extremely favorable to the city, and a considerable tract of land was purchased, payable in small annual installments. Thus the work of acquiring the Eastern Promenade was in a fair way of accomplishment.

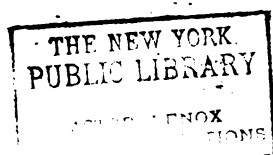
But the question of connecting the various public grounds was a pressing one, and much time was being devoted to its consideration.

A BOULEVARD AROUND BACK BAY

offered an attractive solution to it, and after the necessary surveys of this territory had been accomplished, a plan showing the many ownerships was made. It was, of course, impossible to raise money to purchase any of this property, which then lay in the town of Deering. The only thing that could be done was to induce the owners to give sufficient land for a boulevard, by convincing them that the prospective improvements would increase the value of their holdings. This presumption was so very evident that it seemed to require no argument in its favor, yet there were some who would not consider the giving up of a present dollar for a future eagle, and months were



DEERING'S OAKS.



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consumed in negotiations. The result, however, was that a considerable number agreed to give a strip of their land along the shore of the Bay one hundred feet wide, and the prospect of all the other owners doing the same was brightening. At this time, however, my term of office ended, and seven years elapsed before I could again give personal attention to the subject, though in a position to promote the acquisition of the Curtis property on the Eastern Promenade, which I did. Besides the purchase by the city of this property my predecessor in office arranged for an exchange of city property for a piece of land east of Fort Allen Park, which has since been completed.

Upon resuming office again the work which I had left was, of course, resumed; the Deering lot in the Park, already spoken of, was secured; the old buildings torn down; the grading of the land begun, and Portland street, which I had previously succeeded in getting widened, paved along the front of the Park. This was in accordance with my conviction that the approaches to a city should be made attractive to one entering it. An opportunity to carry out this idea exists at Tukey's Bridge, and another will be afforded when Vaughan's Bridge is built, as small plots on either side of the approaches to it can be laid out and planted with shrubbery. An appropriation was also procured to remove the buildings adjoining Fort Allen Park, and to grade and fence the addition to it. Negotiations were also renewed with the owners of land around Back Bay.

Having already experienced the generosity of Mr. Deering a beginning was made with him, and, as before, he promptly responded. The result was that he and the trustees of the Ricker estate, with whom he was associated in the ownership of land beyond the Winslow Pottery, started the ball by donating to the city the most valuable strip of land on the proposed Boulevard. From that time forward negotiations were pushed forward, and the city now owns a strip of land one hundred feet wide extending around the Bay from Bedford street, near the Pottery, to Tukey's Bridge, and before the close of the year both ends

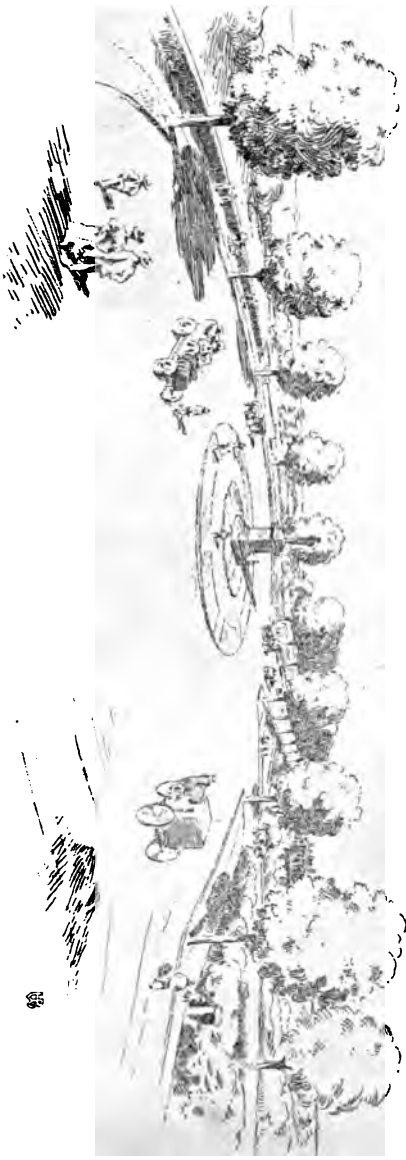
of the Boulevard for a considerable distance will be graded, and with a moderate appropriation each year the intervening space can be completed and the two ends joined. Of course, to properly finish it, trees and shrubbery must be planted the entire length, but this will cost no large sum, and as the whole expenditure for the land will not exceed a thousand dollars, the city can do no less than put it in proper condition. Before leaving this branch of my subject I call the attention of our citizens to the necessity of acquiring the ownership of the Back Bay flats. After the completion of the Boulevard, it will eventually be necessary to devise a plan to keep them covered with water. Not only is this desirable in a sanitary point of view, but it will afford an ideal sheet of water for boating purposes. These flats now so unsightly and ill smelling have been regarded as valueless, and have never been taxed, nor are they likely to be of pecuniary value to the owners. I have succeeded in getting a number of these owners to waive to the city their rights to a third or more of these flats, but not all, though I believe that in the end they would gain by doing so. On February 18th, 1887, the State conveyed its rights in these flats to the city, and a commission was appointed with full powers to take them for the city's benefit.* This commission now consists of E. C. Jordan, C. E., Zenas Thompson and Prentiss Loring, and it should, in my opinion, take immediate steps toward acquiring the rest of that portion of the flats, which I have secured without cost, lying on the northerly side of the Bay.

Respecting the

EASTERN PROMENADE

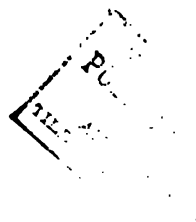
no effort has been spared to secure the remaining land there. Early in the year the Longfellow property consisting of three and three-quarters acres, on the easterly slope of the hill, was conveyed to the city, as well as a considerable tract owned by a number of persons on its northerly and westerly slope. A small piece owned by Bowdoin College has also been arranged for. This leaves

*A copy of this act appears on another page.



EASTERN PROMENADE.
Proposed Outlook Concourse at northwest end, looking east.

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a large tract of land owned by the Grand Trunk Railway; another, adjoining it, owned by Hon. Elias Thomas and others, and four lots owned respectively by the McCarthy Estate, L. W. Cleveland, Roscoe S. Davis and Major C. H. Boyd. When the three first named pieces of land are acquired, and they should be without delay, the city will own the Eastern Promenade, with the exception of the Cleveland and Davis property,* which can be laid out in a manner similar to, and made quite as beautiful as that at the West End.

Now as to the general plan of improvements to connect the different public grounds of the city. But one way has seemed to me feasible, which is to widen and extend B street from Congress street around the rear of the old Almshouse property to the Deering avenue entrance to the Oaks, making this a part of the Boulevard, and reached at its southerly end from the slope of the Western Promenade. A short drive from the Oaks by the Deering Mansion will lead to the Forest avenue end of the Boulevard, and by continuing around over Tukey's Bridge to Washington Avenue, where an attractive entrance to the Eastern Promenade is now being constructed, Fort Allen Park can be reached. Being convinced that this was the only feasible plan of connecting our public grounds, I employed Mr. Olmsted, the well-known architect, to make a draft of it, and the beautiful sketches which he has produced I herewith present to the citizens of Portland for their approval. It will be seen that these plans provide for several playgrounds, but others in time will doubtless be wanted. Small parks could also be made to advantage near the foot of Center street, at the junction of York and Pleasant streets, and at the junction of Free and Congress streets, near the building of the Young Men's Christian Association, but the plans here presented are probably sufficient for the present.

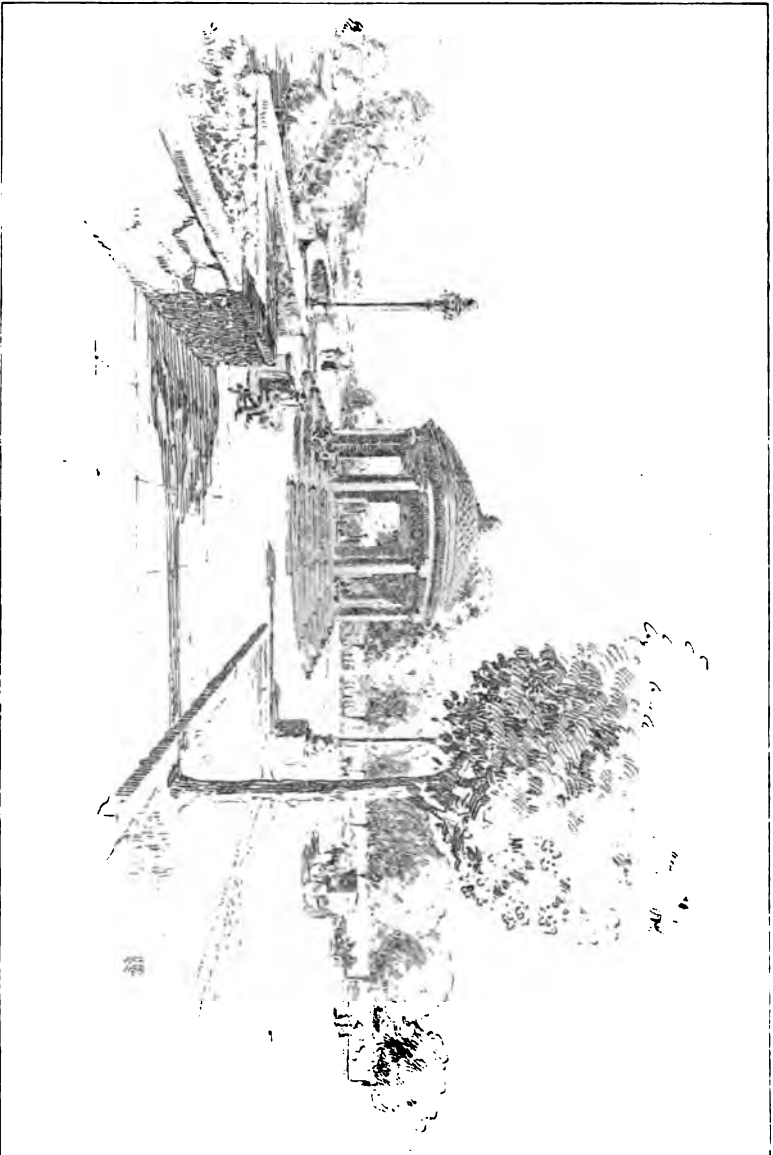
That parks and playgrounds are now considered necessities in all cities, large or small, is generally conceded. Boston has expended on her public grounds nineteen

* Sometime in the future the city will, of course, acquire this property.

millions of dollars, and has already received a substantial benefit in an increase of taxable property, and many other cities are expending sums proportionate to their size. While Portland has many natural beauties she must not depend too much upon them, but endeavor to enhance them as much as possible. The money so expended will soon be returned, but if it were not, the investment would be a wise one, for she must rely to a large extent upon her summer visitors, and to attract them she must make herself attractive. This cannot be done without cost, and the public should no more grudge the money for this purpose than an individual should grudge the expenditure which he makes in the adornment of his private grounds.

Some years ago, when the Mayor of Cork visited Portland, I took him to the Eastern Promenade, pausing at Fort Sumner Park, and while he was admiring the charming view of the city, which that lofty outlook affords, I ventured to outline to him some of the improvements which I was then considering and which Mr. Olmsted has so admirably embodied in his plans. "But why don't you do it?" asked the Mayor with the little brogue which made him most engaging. "Because," I replied, "our people are rather shy of taxes." "Taxes!" he exclaimed, "Why should they bother about that if they get their money's worth? What's money good for but to get the good of it?" But park improvements as a rule do not increase taxes, they tend instead to diminish them by promoting building and encouraging private improvements in their vicinity. Land in the neighborhood of some Boston parks has increased in value since they were laid out from fifty cents to five dollars a foot, and stimulated the building of fine residences to such an extent as to keep the tax rate below the limit which it would have reached, but for park extensions.

Since park improvements were begun by me, the city has added to its system thirty-four acres and if we include the proposed Boulevard fifty-nine acres, and the tax payers have not felt the cost in the least, for the small amounts annually paid out would have been absorbed in



WESTERN PROMENADE.
Proposed Terrace, Shelter and Concourse at end of West Street, looking north.

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something which a microscope would fail to reveal, while now, the city owns and will always enjoy lands of great and ever increasing value. The only way possible to keep down the tax rate is to increase taxable property, and improvements do this. To illustrate; ten years ago when the improvement of the western portion of the Poor Farm was undertaken, the cry of extravagance was raised. "It will never pay but will increase taxation," it was said. Broad streets, however, were laid out and graded, and sewers of ample dimensions constructed. In two years these improvements paid for themselves, and this year the city is receiving taxes on property, which these improvements created, valued at two hundred thousand dollars. As the proposed Boulevard will open hundreds of acres to building enterprise, why should it not yield similar results?

It has been said that parks are luxuries for the rich to enjoy. This is a grave error. The rich, who constitute but a very small percentage of the population of any city, are the least benefited by them, for they are practically independent of them. In the summer they go to the country or seaside, while nine-tenths of the people are confined to the city. To these the public grounds are a necessity as well as a delight; besides, every dollar expended upon such grounds goes into the pockets of laborers and contributes to the support of their families, hence they should favor every undertaking to make them suitable for public enjoyment.

In conclusion, is it practicable to accomplish the entire plan which is here displayed? I have no doubt of this, and moreover, I believe that it can be done without any strain upon the public purse, if the undertaking is economically managed. By this I do not mean niggardly managed, for true economy is making the best use of resources whatever they may be, but by adopting and carrying out a well matured plan, and expending upon it only what is really necessary, strictly avoiding changes or experiments. The sooner these improvements too are made the better, for this generation should benefit by them, and it is to this generation that I address myself. I have found it to

consist of three classes; a large class which is public spirited and ever ready to support meritorious projects; another large class apathetic and difficult to interest in public matters, and a small class composed of objectors to everything which they do not originate; ready, indeed, on all occasions to criticise and detract, and worse still to impute unworthy motives to those who undertake any public work. To these I have nothing to say, but to those citizens who compose the first class I confidently commend the present plans. I also hopefully submit them to those of my fellow citizens who constitute the second class named, asking that they receive their careful consideration, and, if found meritorious, their approval. In submitting these plans of improvement to our park system, I recognize no party lines. The subject is of too great and too general interest for partisan consideration. All parties can alike lend support to a system of improvement for the general good, and I only ask that the citizens of Portland give their support to all efforts to accomplish the proposed improvements. It is of no consequence who is instrumental in accomplishing this work; it is only important that it be accomplished.

NOTE. I should omit a duty if I failed to acknowledge the generous treatment accorded to the city by those from whom I have purchased land for park purposes. They have all evinced in their dealings with the city a broad and liberal spirit worthy of remembrance.

ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MAINE RELATING TO BACK BAY.

SECTION 1. All the lands, flats, shores and rights in tide waters, belonging to the State, at Back Cove and Fore River in Portland Harbor, are hereby ceded to the City of Portland.

SECTION 2. The Mayor of the City of Portland may appoint, subject to the approval of the Board of Aldermen, a board of three commissioners, citizens of said city, who shall have full charge and control in behalf of the City of Portland, of all the lands, flats, shores and rights ceded to said city by the first section of this Act.

SECTION 3. At the first appointment under this Act, the Commissioners shall be appointed for three, four and five years respectively ;

and thereafter, at the expiration of each term, one shall be appointed to hold for the term of five years.

SECTION 4. The Mayor, with the advice and consent of the Aldermen, after hearing and for cause shown, may remove a Commissioner during his term. Vacancies in the Board of Commissioners shall be filled by appointment of the Mayor and approval of the Aldermen.

SECTION 5. Each Commissioner shall give a bond to the city for fidelity in office, in such sum and with such sureties as the Mayor and Aldermen of Portland shall approve, and shall receive such compensation for his services as the Mayor and Aldermen shall determine.

SECTION 6. Said Board of Commissioners shall have power, by purchase in the name and behalf of the City of Portland, to acquire any other lands and rights at said Back Cove and Fore River, for the purpose of completing the public improvements authorized by this Act, and also to take the same in the exercise of the right of eminent domain, for the purpose of abating a public nuisance and preserving the public health and for other public purposes. The method of procedure in taking private property, above or below high water mark, for public purposes under this Act, and in recovering compensation therefor, shall be substantially the same as that provided in the ninth section of the charter of the City of Portland, for taking lands for streets or public ways. In proceedings under this Act, the said Board of Commissioners shall take the place and act instead of the Joint Standing Committee of the two Boards of the City Council, and shall also have the full powers conferred upon the City Council itself, by the ninth section of the City Charter. The Commissioners may settle by agreement or by arbitration the amount of damage sustained by any person in his property, by reason of the taking of any lands, flats or rights as aforesaid.

SECTION 7. All the property ceded to the City of Portland by this Act, or subsequently acquired by it under the terms of the preceding section, shall be under the general charge, control and management of the Commission thereby created, and the Commissioners may dredge, fill, improve, occupy, lease or sell the same, subject to the authority of the United States Government and of any Act of Congress. Said Commissioners may make all lawful contracts to promote the objects of the Commission. Said Commission may provide a dumping ground or place of deposit for any material dredged within the limits of Portland Harbor. Any person who shall remove by dredging any material from within the harbor limits, shall be obliged to deposit the same where directed by said Commission, provided the same dumping ground or place of deposit is within four miles of said city, and no objections is made to it by the United States Engineer in charge of work in Portland Harbor. This requirement shall not be applied to dredging done by authority of the United States Government.

SECTION 8. To provide means for carrying on the public improvements hereby authorized, and thereby removing the danger to the public health, arising from the polluted condition of said flats, the city of Portland is authorized, whenever the same can be done consistently with the constitutional limitation upon municipal indebtedness, to issue its bonds to an amount not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, payable within a period not exceeding twenty years. The bonds shall be issued as the City Council shall direct, shall be negotiated by the City Treasurer, under the direction of the Mayor, and the proceeds thereof shall be delivered to the Commissioners hereby appointed, upon their warrant, when required for the purposes of the Commission.

SECTION 9. To provide for the payment of the bonds issued under this Act, a sinking fund shall be established, to be under the direction of said Commissioners. All moneys received from the income of leases, or sales of property, and all other moneys received by said Commissioners, except from the proceeds of the bonds hereby authorized to be issued, shall be placed to the credit of said sinking fund. The Commissioners shall, from time to time, invest the moneys on hand securely, so that they shall be productive; and the same may be invested in the bonds issued under this Act, or in any other bonds of the City of Portland, or of the State of Maine, or of the United States, which securities shall be held for the increase of the sinking fund. The Commissioners may, from time to time, sell and transfer any of said securities.

SECTION 10. The City Treasurer shall have the care and custody of all moneys received from the sale of bonds, and shall be responsible on his official bond for their safe keeping. He shall also have the care and custody of, and be responsible for, all the securities of the sinking fund. He shall pay out said moneys only upon the warrant of the Commissioners.

SECTION 11. Whenever the accumulations of said sinking fund shall be in excess of the amount required for the redemption of said bonds, the City Council of Portland may appropriate such excess to the object of the Commission hereby created, or to any lawful municipal purpose.

SECTION 12. Instead of issuing bonds, the City Council of Portland may make appropriations, from moneys raised by municipal taxation, for the same purposes for which the bonds of said city are by this Act authorized to be issued, to be paid to said Commissioners by the City Treasurer upon their warrant as hereinbefore provided, in regard to the proceeds of said bonds; and in that event, all moneys received by said Commissioners from the lease or sale of real estate, or from whatever source, shall be paid directly into the Treasury of the city of Portland.

SECTION 13. Nothing contained in this Act shall have the effect to modify or limit the authority of the Harbor Commissioners of Portland.



**THE CHIEF ACTORS IN
SAGADAHOC DRAM**

THE CHIEF ACTORS IN THE SAGADAHOC DRAMA

We have assembled on these pleasant shores to celebrate an event of interest to us, not because of its importance to mankind, nor of its material or moral influence upon the welfare of those within the narrower bounds of our own State, nor of the virtue or heroism of the actors in it, for even the leading spirit in the enterprise, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, places them in a light none too favorable, but because it was the pioneer effort made in good faith by its projectors to colonize our New England shores, an effort which might have been successful had men of different character been employed to sustain it. So much of a derogatory nature has been said of these men that it seems proper that, keeping in view the fact that only success earns the diploma of merit, we should try to get as correct a view of them as possible.

I have said that Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the leading spirit in the Sagadahoc colonial enterprise. He it was whose enthusiasm never flagged, and which inspired men absorbed in other pursuits to adventure their substance and their influence to support and advance his projects. His zeal, energy and self sacrifice in behalf of colonial undertakings have never been questioned, and it can be safely affirmed that he was a man of lofty aims and broad foresight; a man, who, while having an eye to his own interests, could subordinate them to the public welfare.

Of Chief Justice Popham, who lent his great influence and advanced liberally of his means to aid this colonial venture, thereby acquiring the title of its chief sustainer, much of a defamatory character has been written. He has been charged with disreputable living previous to his elevation to the chief justiceship, and then, with most corrupt practices. Even the possession of his family seat, Littlecote Manor, has been charged to judicial dishonor.¹

¹ Vide, "Lives of Eminent Men"—Aubrey—Vol. II, p. 293, "Romance of the Aristocracy"—Burke—Vol. I, p. 174.

It is well, however, in this instance to apply the rule which an astute publicist has prescribed for observance in the treatment of such cases, namely, that "When a thing is asserted as a fact, always ask who first reported it, and what means he had of knowing the truth."

The application of this rule shows that the writers of the wild stories of his acquisition of Littlecote by corrupt dealings with Darrell, its former owner, relied for their materials chiefly upon traditions. Papers in the Public Records Office have recently come to light which do not sustain these stories.¹

That Popham was aggressive and unscrupulous there can be little doubt, as little doubt indeed as that Darrell, with whom Popham is accused of having made a corrupt bargain to clear him of a criminal charge, was not nearly as bad as he was painted by self-interested contemporaries. A much more reasonable explanation of his relations with Darrell is that he took advantage of the death of an unfortunate man, upon whose property he was enabled by his great power to seize and hold on the ground of having rendered for it an equivalent in services. Popham, there can be no doubt, was far from being a model of virtue, but no more corrupt than many of the men high in office in the reigns of Elizabeth and James whose acts have escaped the searching light to which his have been subjected.

Of George Popham, the nephew of the Chief Justice, and head of the Colony, we know only good. Even the French Jesuit, Biard, who visited the site of the colony after its abandonment, and who certainly was not friendly to the English, says that he was "A very honorable man, and conducted himself very kindly towards the natives,"² and though Gorges paints him as "Ould and of an unwildy body, and timorously fearfull to offende or contest with others, that will or do oppose him," he also describes him as "honest" as well as "A discreete and careful man,"³ and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that, if he had survived the hardships of the terrible winter of 1607-8, that he might have held the colony together until it could be reinforced by new blood.

¹ Vide, "Society in the Elizabethan Age"—Hall—pp. 122-146.

² Vide, "Première Mission des Jesuites a Canada"—Carayon—p. 70 et seq.

³ Vide, "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine," Vol. III, p. 122.

Of Raleigh Gilbert, who succeeded Popham, success could not be expected. He was doubtless selected because of the fame of his father, Sir Humphrey, to whom Elizabeth had granted a patent for territory of shadowy bounds twenty-nine years before.¹ Though he seems to have inherited the courage he does not seem to have inherited the virtues of his famous father.

Biard, who has already been quoted, says, that after the death of Popham, who had treated the savages kindly, "The English changed their conduct; they repelled the savages disgracefully; they beat them, they abused them, they set their dogs on them, with little restraint. Consequently, these poor maltreated people, exasperated in the present and presuming upon still worse treatment in the future, determined, as the saying is, 'To kill the cub before his teeth and claws should be stronger.' An opportunity for this presented itself to them one day, when three shallops were gone away on a fishing trip. These conspirators followed them keenly and coming near with the best show of friendship (for where there is most treachery there are the most caresses) each one chose his man and killed him with his knife. Thus were dispatched eleven of the English."²

Gorges also describes Gilbert as "Desirous of supremacy and rule, a loose life, prompt to sensuality, little zeal and experience, other wayes valiant enough, but he houldes that the Kinge could not give away that by Pattent to others wch his Father had an Act of Parliament for, and that hee will not be put out of it in haste, with many such like idle speeches." From this it will be seen that Gilbert supposed the colony to have been settled within the bounds of his father's former patent. With such a man in charge of the depleted colony, and jealous of its promoters at home, one cannot be surprised that upon the opportunity afforded by the death of his brother, whose heir he was, he should take advantage of the situation, and, when a ship with supplies arrived, should gather his disheartened men and hurry home with them.

From the remarks of Gorges already quoted, and the statement that Gilbert had written friends in England soliciting them to support his claims, it seems probable that he was not averse to

¹ Vide, Hazard's "Historical Collections," Vol. I, pp. 24-25.

² Vide, "Premiere Mission des Jesuites a Canada"—Carayon—p. 70 et seq.

the failure of the colony, the creature of men who had, he believed, usurped his rights, and it seems probable that he was indulging in a dream of a renewed patent and a return to Sagadahoc or vicinity with a new colony over which he would be supreme.

There were besides the men already discussed, several others, able and of good repute, as Seymour, the minister, a man no doubt of lofty character; Turner, the physician, of whom Gorges speaks in high terms; James and Robert Davis, and others. At the same time we may well believe that there was a considerable contingent, as in other colonial undertakings, of unfit men, even representatives of the criminal classes. Chief Justice Popham himself gave the Spanish minister to understand that such was the case, though this is not proof, as he may have been only talking diplomatically.¹ Many early writers cast odium upon him for sending men, whom Gorges himself declares were "Not such as they ought." But if such men formed a portion of the colony it was only in accord with the spirit of the age; even the Dean of St. Pauls, several years later, in a sermon to the Virginia Company, said, "The Plantation shall redeeme many a wretch from the lawes of death, from the hands of the executioner." Gorges, who knew perhaps more than anybody else the character of the rank and file of the colony may be quoted. He says that to be successful "There must go other manner of spirits," and charges failure to "Theyr idle proceedings."

When we consider the condition of maritime art in the sixteenth century, after the discovery of the continent by Cabot, which was hailed as a great event "More divine than human," the ease with which the ocean passage can be made; and the character of the English people so enterprising and aggressive as they have shown themselves to be, it seems strange indeed that this great country, so rich in natural resources, should have remained for more than a century without a single successful step being made by the English toward its colonization.

Colonies were nothing new. They had been successfully founded by Greeks and Romans many centuries before, and had proved of great benefit to the parent state, all of which was well known to English scholars, and the advantages of colonizing the

¹ Vide, "The Genesis of the United States"—Brown—Vol. I, p. 46.

new world were amply discussed long before successful efforts were made to secure them. We know that the Spanish Gargantua fumed and threatened all who ventured upon voyages to the New World, and cruelly treated, even butchered some who were caught there; but this does not appear to have been sufficient to have deterred Englishmen from pursuits to which they were inclined. In spite of Spain's great sea power they never shrunk from encountering it, and usually came off victorious, and the thought grows upon us that the principal hindrance to colonial success is to be found in the character of the material which was then thought sufficient for colonial building. Society in England during the sixteenth century and much later was in a graceless way. Men in power, courtiers and parasites who depended upon them, monopolized the sources of production and paralyzed industry, thereby creating poverty such as we know little about, a poverty which measured by the oppressive and cruel laws then prevailing, made criminals of men, who, with reasonably fair opportunities, would have made decent citizens. The frequent wars, too, which threw upon society thousands of incapacitated and worthless men with no means of living added to the criminal class. How to deal with such persons was a problem from which the wisest shrunk. Any way which could be suggested to get rid of this class of persons was satisfactory to those in power, and the colonial prospect was hailed as an effective way of disposing of them forever.

There were men who objected to this, Bacon and Fuller among the number, who vehemently condemned the theory that criminals were fit timber for colonies, but these protests had little effect, and the king continued to order "dissolute persons" to be sent to Virginia.

The result was what might have been expected. The southern colony, which had planted itself at Jamestown, had the same experience as its sister colony on the Sagadahoc. After severe hardships, though it escaped the extreme rigors of a northern winter, it was reduced to a handful of disheartened men by sickness and the vengeful hand of the savages, and would probably have been exterminated but for the stout and devil-may-care spirit of Captain John Smith until the arrival of reinforcements from England; but even then, only a year and eight months after

the northern colony deserted the Sagadahoc, the southern colony abandoned its settlement at Jamestown, and burying the cannon which were too burdensome for them to remove, it sailed for home, and we should have heard no more of it, had it not met, as it was leaving the coast, Sir Thomas West, with a new charter and new settlers. Sir Thomas, being a man of action, ordered them back, the cannon were dug up and replaced in the fort, and the new master put his hand to the helm of affairs with a firm grasp; but again the colony would have failed had not John Rolfe planted some tobacco seed, which, producing a profitable crop and serving as an object lesson to the discouraged colonists, saved the day; in fact, to that perniciously profitable weed, tobacco, is the salvation of the southern colony to be ascribed; thus we see what immense advantages the southern colony had over the northern, in that it was not subject to wintry weather, the severity of which Gorges says "Froze all our hopes," and possessed also a product ready at hand, upon which to rely for support; advantages amply sufficient, if both colonies were composed of like material, to ensure success to the one possessing them.

Forty-five years ago to-day the Maine Historical Society was here celebrating the event, the three hundredth anniversary of which we are now observing; yet of the members of our Society whose eloquence aroused the enthusiasm of those who listened to them on that bright August day, not one is now living to join his voice to ours on this memorable occasion.

While acknowledging the distinguished services which these honored men rendered to Maine history, it is but proper that I should notice some of the errors into which they fell, and which caused so much unpleasant controversy. They did not have access to records which we now possess and, therefore, built upon less secure foundations. With the materials which the veiled and frugal Goddess of History vouchsafed to them, they wrought an attractive fabric, which our State pride might well prompt us to wish was more stable than it proved to be. We now know beyond peradventure, that no part of the Sagadahoc Colony remained behind to lay the foundations of empire at Pemaquid; that in 1628, "Pemaquid had" *not* "become the great center of trade to the native hordes of Maine from the Penobscot

to Accadisco";¹ that the statements that "The evidence is quite conclusive that in that dissolution," namely, of the Sagadahoc Colony, "English life, English homes, and English civilization did not cease to be found within the Ancient Dominions of Maine,"² that "Pemaquid took her root from the colonial plantation at Sagadahoc, and sent up fresh, vigorous, and fruitful shoots in the families of the Sheepscot farms, between the head-waters of the aboriginal Sipps and Naamas Couta"; that "Maine is the Mother of New England,"³ and many other like statements are but pleasant fancies. Nor was there any great Bashaba ruling an Indian Empire in Mawwooshen;⁴ nor even a Norembega of more importance than a few squalid wigwams, however much we may regret to own it. The "Fair English town" too "of fifty houses, with its church and fort mounted and entrenched" has dwindled to fifteen buildings of all kinds, the number shown on the Simancas plan.⁵

The track of the colonists is now perfectly clear and undisputed. Pemaquid, from its important situation, was an objective point to ships approaching the middle Maine coast, and here a landing was made and a conference held with the chief of the Pemaquid tribe before establishing themselves at the mouth of the Kennebec, and later they also visited Pemaquid which was to become so noted as a place of historic interest to the people of the State.

The truth, however, remains as we were formerly taught, that the Puritans and the Pilgrims founded the first permanent colonies in New England under the wise leadership of men like Bradford and Winthrop and Roger Williams, whom the people of this country will ever honor; colonies, which guided by the principals of the Mayflower compact, imparted to subsequent colonies that fervent spirit of liberty and equality which kindled the Revolution, and fused them into a nation. But while we admit this, we do not detract from the interest that this historic place will always possess for the people of Maine, who, in time to

¹ Vide, Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, 1862, Sewall's Address, pp. 152-155.

² Ibid.

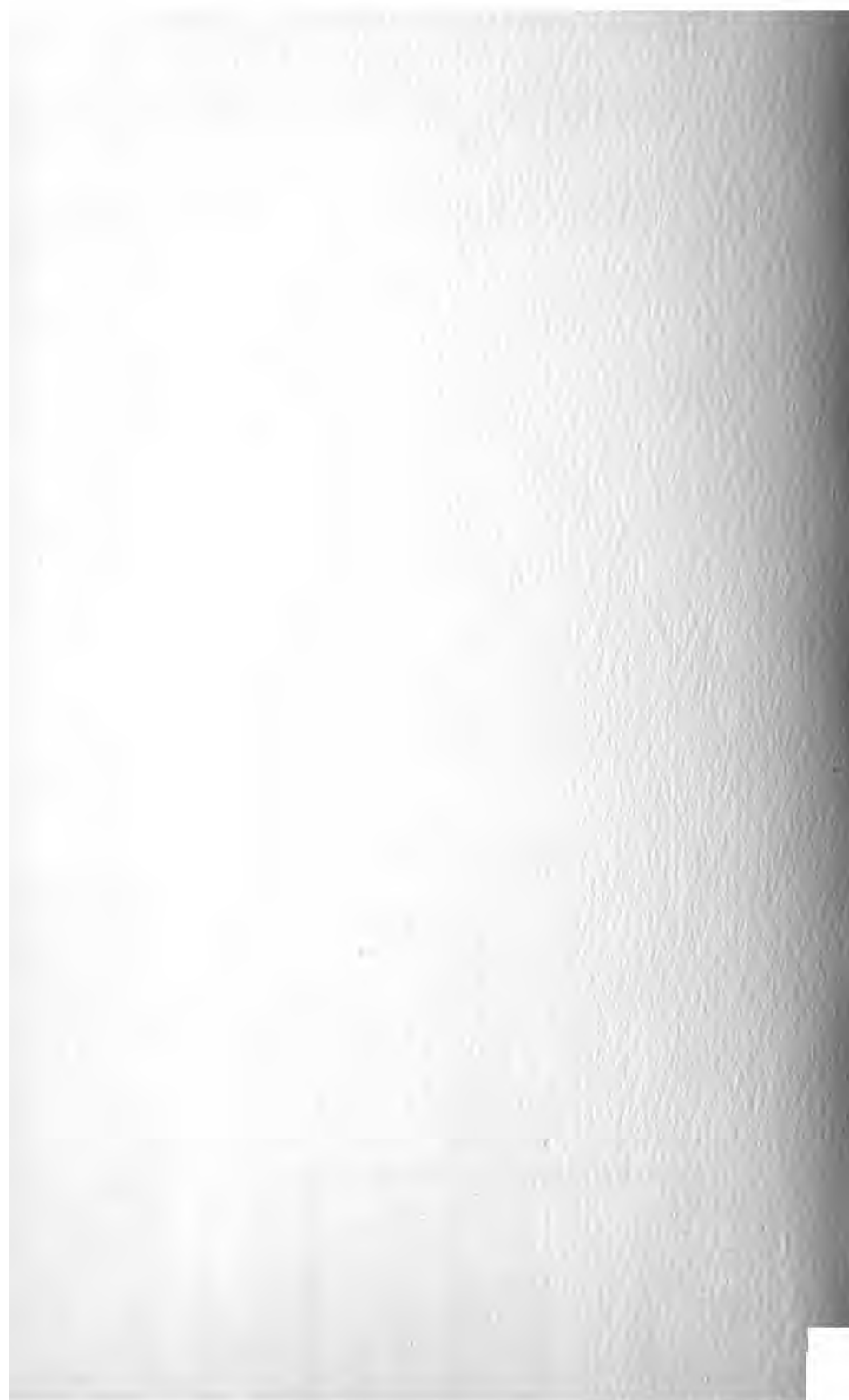
³ Ibid.

⁴ Vide, "Ancient Dominions of Maine"—Sewall—pp. 34, 35.

⁵ Vide, Ibid, p. 22, Memorial Volume Popham Celebration, 1862, Sewall's Address, p. 126.

come, will gather here in remembrance of this interesting historical event. Here was the first English colony in New England founded through the efforts of Gorges, who has not inaptly been denominated the Father of American Colonization. Here the first New England ship was built, the first fort erected to maintain the rights of Englishmen to the continent discovered by Cabot under an English commission, and here George Popham, the noble governor of that colony, laid down his life for the cause which he had espoused, a man of whom Gorges wrote these words: "*However heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country.*"¹

¹ Vide, "A Description of New England" in "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine," Vol. II, p. 16.



A NEW ENGLAND F

TO COMMEMORATE THE PRI
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HOW CAN IT BE MADE

OF THE

PEOPLE OF NEW EN

PORTLAND:
STEPHEN LERRY CO., PRIN
1917.

A NEW ENGLAND PANTHEON.

To the Patriotic people of New England who are to take part in the tercentenary of the Landing of the Pilgrims in 1620, and to those interested in other noble men and women who followed them to these shores, and by their united efforts laid the foundations of this Republic, thereby earning the title of the Fathers of New England:

In three short years, which will be pregnant with events of world wide importance, since they promise to go far in determining problems of government among the nations of Europe, New England will celebrate the birth of popular government on this continent, initiated by that unique body of Englishmen who established the Plymouth Colony on the shores of Massachusetts. No greater event than this can be imagined, and it calls for the erection of a memorial befitting the occasion.

Eight centuries ago, by the efforts of a pious King, Westminster Abbey was founded to preserve the memory of the great men of England, and to-day it stands as an example of wise foresight to other nations.

Says Dean Stanley in his "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey" written in commemoration of its eighth hundred anniversary, "These memorials ought

to be in fact the History of England in Westminster Abbey," for it "stands alone amongst the buildings of the world."

When Dean Stanley wrote these words, eminently true, the great Rathaus of Hamburg had not been completed, which, in some respects, better represents the ideals of its people than the Abbey, since the latter perpetuates the memory of many Kings and political favorites who were unworthy of the honor bestowed upon them, while the former more particularly commemorates the men who devoted themselves to the welfare of the great free city in which they lived. This splendid edifice is built of native materials wholly by native workmen, from corner stone to finial, and is decorated wholly by native artists. Its wood work, its carvings, its fine metal grill work, its massively wrought hinges and locks, its stained glass, its great clock, its ponderous bell; in fact, everything in it is of native workmanship, and on the walls of its several divisions is depicted the history of Hamburg, from the little gathering of its founders to the meeting of its magistrates to celebrate the completion of this unique building. Besides the notable events of its history which are depicted upon its walls, there are busts and portraits of its rulers and those who have honored it by noble achievement; indeed, when one has devoted a few hours to the study of this building, so vivid are the impressions left upon his mind, that he feels when he leaves it, that he knows more about the history of Hamburg than he could have learned from books in a month of reading.

In 1620, in this then New World inhabited by a savage people, a band of men and women, especially devoted to the establishment of a free Commonwealth, landed upon the wintry shores of Massachusetts. Before landing, with but a partial conception of the perils before them, they drew up in the cabin of the little ship in which they had been confined for nearly four months, a compact which, says Senator Hoar, was "the beginning of a State." Probably no band of men actuated by so high a purpose as inspired the forty-one men who signed this compact ever associated themselves together under like conditions. You know Bradford's immortal delineation of them: "They knew they were Pilgrims, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, and so quieted their spirits."

To that country to which they calmly looked, one-half of them went through suffering unspeakable before the close of the terrible winter which they encountered. But only a score of these men were left. You know what these Pilgrims accomplished, for it illustrates one of the most important pages of American history and of the world. They were followed in 1622 with that memorable landing at Cape Ann, and six years later by Endicott at Salem with his little company actuated by like high motives. These men prepared the way for the founding of Boston in 1630 by Winthrop and his associates, and the extension of government by the Massachusetts Bay Colony over Plymouth and other Massachusetts settlements. To-day we recognize no difference between the men of the Colonial period

and know them all as the founders of this great Commonwealth. The memory of these men is precious to us all. We regard them conjointly as the Fathers of New England to whom we owe a debt which we can only repay by keeping their memory ever bright. To do this their descendants should endeavor to give expression to their ideals in a lasting memorial which shall not only vividly preserve to future generations the memory of their forefathers, but reflect imperishable honor upon the men of this generation who recognize their duty in honoring them. There can be no doubt that the memorial, which will best serve these purposes is a noble building—call it what you please, a Pantheon, a Temple of Honor, or any other fitting name—in harmony with New England ideals, capable of serving the purposes of a people whose test of merit is meritorious achievement.

To accomplish this will not only be of incalculable importance to the people of New England, and, reflectively, to the Nation, many of whose ideals derived from the fathers of New England have inspired it in achieving its present position among the nations of the world. The men who in the early part of the seventeenth century landed on our North American shores, were men of vision, animated by a great purpose—the founding of Commonwealths—and their descendants, inheriting the virtues of their fathers, blazed a path through the vast wilderness which barred their way to the west, until they reached the golden gates of the Pacific, and made it possible to exclaim :

“No pent up Utica contracts our powers
For the whole boundless continent is ours.”

These men with hearts throbbing with the blood of the Fathers of New England, and inspired by their ideals, have given to the nation many of its noblest characteristics, which must be cherished and preserved if it is to lead as the exemplar of Liberty, Justice and Brotherhood, among the nations of the world. But to accomplish this these descendants of New England fathers must be united in the purpose which, three centuries ago, animated the men in the little cabin of the Mayflower when they signed their names to that remarkable declaration of principles, which gave vitality to our national constitution. We have reached a period when without the co-operation of the millions who bear the blood of the founders of New England, our high hopes for the future welfare of this country may fail of fruition.

Let us reflect upon what has happened since the day when we achieved our Independence, and threw wide our gates with an all too generous impulse of hospitality. Actuated by a laudable ambition to better their condition, vast numbers of the people of all parts of the world who had been oppressed by exacting laws flocked to our shores, many of them valuable additions to our population. Among them, however, were many, who, unfit to avail themselves of the blessings of free government, have proved to be a menace to the nation's welfare. These advocates and supporters of theories attractive to untrained minds, if not checked, may be the cause of a destructive revo-

lution. How can this be met successfully? The only answer is by instruction in the principles which actuated the men and women who laid the foundations of those free commonwealths, whose principles have been wrought into our National constitution, which the I. W. W. and their allies would destroy, and substitute in its place a thing of their own in which License would take the place of Liberty, Class Favoritism, of Equality, and the Nullification of Property Rights, of Justice. During the last few years we have been receiving a larger percentage than ever before of undesirable immigrants, and when the war closes the nations engaged in it will hold back their abler men, and pour a flood of diseased and feeble ones into this country unless Congress puts up sufficient barriers which it is hardly likely to do.

To the men whom dangerous theorists are daily making their dupes, the history of the founders of our Nation is a closed book, and I believe that the most effective way to deprive the dangerous advocates of false theories of government of an audience, is to instruct the uninformed in the principles of those who created the early history of our country. Our churches, our schools, all our philanthropic agencies, are doing good work in this field, but they cannot sufficiently impress the uninstructed masses of our varied population. *They* must be reached by readier means, and few will deny that a building such as is here advocated, would not only be a pious tribute to our forefathers, but a most effective method of instruction to the masses who would throng its pictorial halls which

would visualize to them, not only those who devoted their lives to making here a refuge for the oppressed of all lands, but the striking events of our history. Such a temple would exert an educational influence upon the uninstructed of incalculable worth.

But we must not rest here. We must unite the people of New England blood who are scattered through every State of the Union in our undertaking. We need a roster bearing all their names, that their influence may be consolidated in the preservation of the principles of their forefathers. There are patriotic societies in most of the States which may be made available in collecting these names, which should be inscribed in a volume to be preserved forever in this building. This enrollment secured, we may be sure that our efforts will be generously seconded.

Attention has been called to the Hamburg Rathaus which seems suggestive of the memorial we need. Of course you will agree that such a structure should be of imposing character, emphasizing the worthiest expression of strength, dignity and simplicity; that it should be built of material from New England quarries; wrought by the hands of New England people, and adorned by the skill of New England artists, and that upon its walls should be pictorially recorded the chief events of New England history; the landing at Plymouth, at Cape Ann, at Salem, at Boston; of the genesis of Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Maine; in fact, this building should not only be a memorial of New England's benefactors, and a credit to its builders, but it should also be a

monument to the skill and art of New England in the twentieth century.

If it be thought too great an undertaking, then the conception of Westminster Abbey by Edward the Confessor, and of the Rathaus of Hamburg by her citizens, may be considered Utopian. Surely all agree that New England has a history to commemorate as worthy as they had, and her financial ability is far greater than was that of the people of England or Hamburg. Should the objection be made that the time has not arrived for such an enterprise, and that it would be wise to leave it for future accomplishment, it can be answered that it is unquestionably wise to do a worthy thing at the earliest moment, and that our own generation should exercise the privilege and enjoy the reward of so important an achievement.

The financial question may be raised, but no more forcibly than at any future time. Surely the people of the great States that this building would represent would not fail to respond to an undertaking so patriotic in its design as this. If necessary, the money for the undertaking could be raised in Massachusetts alone.

If this plan meets with approval, steps should be at once to formulate plans for its accomplishment, for "Art is long and Time is fleeting."

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.



A New England
Temple of Honor



**A NEW ENGLAND
TEMPLE OF HONOR**

SPARTAN PRESS INC.
146 OLIVER STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

A NEW ENGLAND TEMPLE OF HONOR

By

HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., Litt. D.

President of the New England Historic
Genealogical Society

Reprinted from the NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER
for April, 1920]

BOSTON

1920

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

A NEW ENGLAND TEMPLE OF HONOR*

By HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., Litt. D.,
President of the New England Historic Genealogical Society

MEMBERS OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

We have assembled to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of our Society in this Pilgrim year, so fraught with precious memories of an event the most important in the annals of New England save the landing of Winthrop, and which will prove to be an acknowledged inspiration to the world if we are able to live up to the ideals of our forefathers; hence I may be pardoned for repeating the trite saying that history is but the record of God's providence, as its repetition cannot fail to be useful until it takes its place among the self-evident truths of the human mind.

In the history of nations there is none in which this truth is more apparent than in our own, since never before has there been a like opportunity afforded to develop a form of government in which the best aspirations of men could find free play. In the Old World autocratic governments, devised for the aggrandizement of a privileged class, have been instrumental in submerging many of their best subjects, which checked their growth and impaired their stability. When James Stuart succeeded Elizabeth Tudor in the royal government of England, he brought with him ill-conceived theories of government, which contributed largely toward precipitating the great revolution in which his son was brought to the block and England made a republic. Elizabeth had been autocratic enough, but she had been wisely restrained by that greatest of English statesmen, William Cecil, while her successor came under the influence of lesser men, who played upon the weak points which he so conspicuously displayed. His excursions into the fields of theological controversy, bringing him into contact with sectarians of extreme views, stimulated his zeal to enforce his own opinions, and, as dissent from the more rigid and artificial forms of doctrine was increasing, he adopted the unwise policy of expatriation, which resulted in the ever memorable landing on Plymouth Rock, the Winthrop colony, and the founding of New England.

Never in the history of any country has so remarkable a body of men as the Pilgrims and the Puritans been so providentially brought together to build a nation; for, whatever may be said to the contrary, history makes evident the fact that the spirit of New England is the true Americanism which is to-day the spirit of the

*Address delivered in Ford Hall, Ashburton Place, Boston, 18 Mar. 1920, at the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

Nation, for it has been aptly said of these pioneers that God sifted the best seed of Old England for planting New England.

In this hearing it hardly seems proper to eulogize these men; they need no eulogy here. For some time, and especially during the past year, there has been a persistent attempt to defame and belittle the Pilgrim and the Puritan, who together rightly earned the title of New England's Founders. Certainly their descendants do not desire to exaggerate the virtues of their ancestors. They would, however, shield them from misrepresentation.

That they wrought faithfully under hardships and privations to lay the foundation of a great commonwealth we have the evidences about us after nearly three centuries. If they sometimes made mistakes, their accomplishments cast their errors into the shade, and these should not be dragged forth by carping critics to obscure their virtues.

The institutions of learning, in which we class not only our schools, our colleges, and churches, but our antiquarian, historical, and genealogical societies, will see to the preservation of the true history of the beginnings of our national history, and none other more faithfully than this Society, whose founders had this single object in view—the study and preservation of the memories of those whose spirit has stamped itself ineffaceably upon the consciousness of New England.

The memory of these men, whose ideal was the creation of a commonwealth in which all men loyal to God and the brotherhood of man should enjoy under His providence civil liberty and the exercise of the rights of private conscience, is especially precious to this Society. Three years ago, as you know, I advocated the erection of a memorial building or Temple of Honor, to commemorate them on this tercentenary of the landing at Plymouth. Several meetings were held to discuss the subject, but the great World War broke upon us, and it was found impossible to carry out the project at this time.

Though it is evident that a memorial building in honor of the Fathers of New England cannot be erected for some time to come, it is certain that it will be at a future day, and I am calling the attention of this Society to the subject on this, as it seems to me, most fitting occasion, that it may be recorded and serve as a reminder of its importance to those who will succeed us.

This Society, I know, will of necessity lead in this great work, and its accomplishment will be of incalculable importance to the people of New England, and, reflectively, to the Nation, many of whose ideals derived from the Fathers of New England have inspired it in achieving its present position among the nations of the world. The men who in the early part of the seventeenth century landed on our North American shores were men of vision, animated by a great purpose, the founding of commonwealths, and their descendants, inheriting the virtues of their fathers, blazed a path through the vast wilderness which barred their way to the West, until they reached the golden gates of the Pacific, and made it possible to exclaim:

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Let us reflect upon what has happened since the day when we achieved our independence, and threw wide our gates with an all too generous impulse of hospitality. Actuated by a laudable ambition to better their condition, vast numbers of the people of all parts of the world, who had been oppressed by too exacting laws, flocked to our shores, many of them valuable additions to our population. Among them, however, were many who, unfit to avail themselves of the blessings of free government, have proved to be a menace to the Nation's welfare. These advocates and supporters of theories attractive to untrained minds, if not checked, may be the cause of a destructive revolution. How can this be met successfully? The only answer is, by instruction in the principles which actuated the men and women who laid the foundations of these free commonwealths, whose principles have been wrought into our national constitution, which anarchists and their allies would destroy and substitute in its place a thing of their own, in which License would take the place of Liberty, Class Favoritism the place of Equality, and the Nullification of Property Rights the place of Justice. During the past few years we have been receiving a larger percentage than ever before of undesirable immigrants, and now that the war has closed, the nations engaged in it will hold back their able men and burden us with the diseased and feeble unless Congress puts up sufficient barriers against them, which it is unlikely to do.

To the men whom dangerous theorists are daily making their dupes the history of the Founders of our Nation is a closed book, and I believe that the most effective way to deprive the dangerous advocates of false theories of government of an audience is to instruct the uninformed in the principles of those who created the early history of our country. Our churches, our schools, all our philanthropic agencies are doing good work in this field, but they cannot sufficiently impress the uninstructed masses of our varied population. *They* must be reached by readier means; and few will deny that a building such as I have advocated would not only be a pious tribute to our forefathers but a most effective method of instruction to the masses who would throng its pictorial halls, which would visualize to them not only those who devoted their lives to making here a refuge for the oppressed of all lands, but the striking events of our history. Such a temple would exert an educational influence upon the uninstructed of incalculable worth.

Of course you will agree that such a structure should be of imposing character, emphasizing the worthiest expression of strength, dignity, and simplicity; that it should be built of material from New England quarries, wrought by the hands of New England people, and adorned by the skill of New England artists; and that upon its walls should be pictorially recorded the chief events of New England history—the landing at Plymouth, at Cape Ann, at Salem, at Boston, the genesis of Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Maine. In fact, this building should not only be a memorial of New England's benefactors and a credit to its builders, but it should also be a monument to the skill and art of New England in the twentieth century.

I submit this to you, my friends, and to our successors, who in due time, I have full faith, will carry out this plan with such modification as they may deem wise.





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